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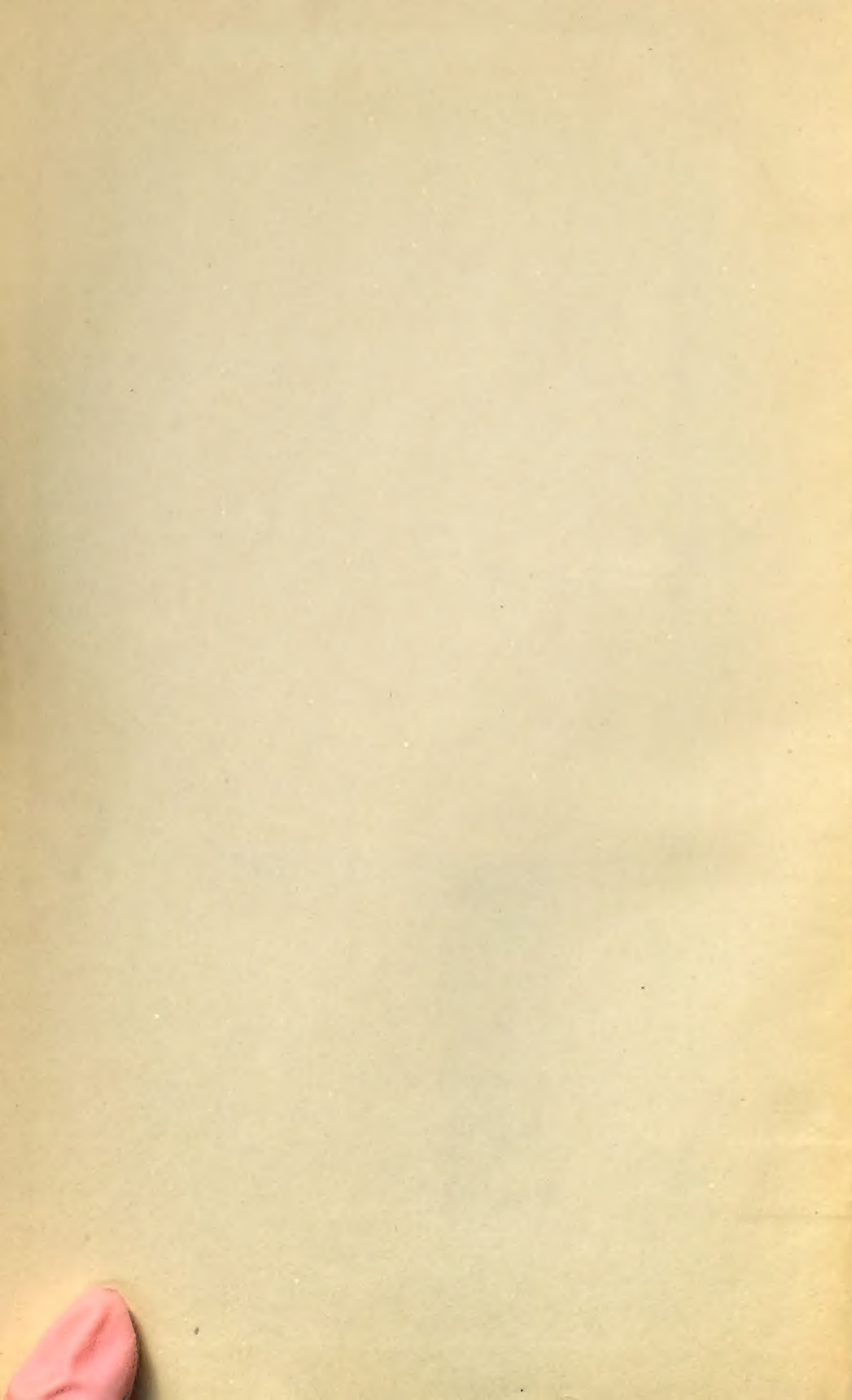
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Trevisa's Dialogus inter Militem et Clericum
Sermon by FitzRalph

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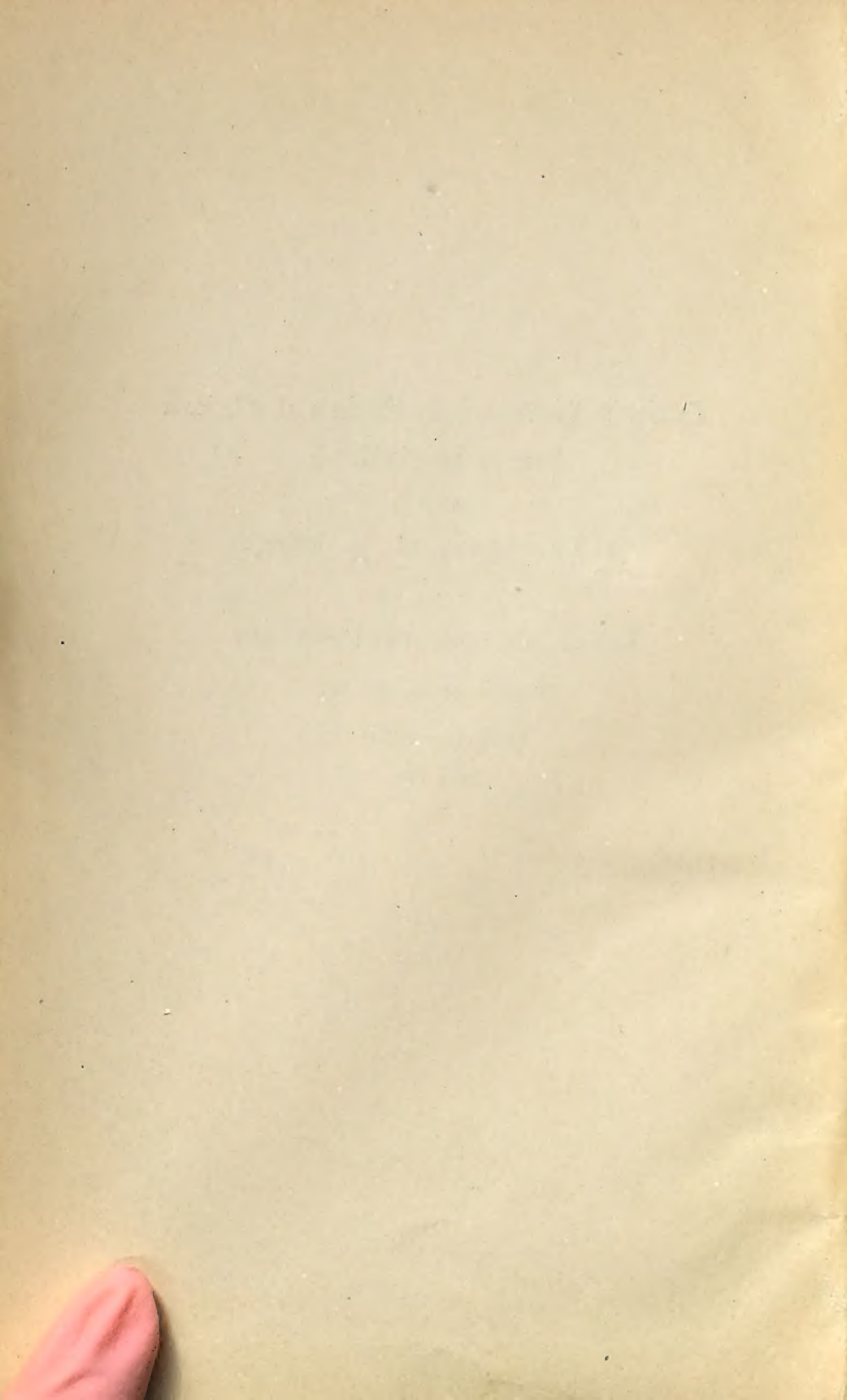
þe Byggynnyng of þe World

EARLY ENGLISH TEXT SOCIETY

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Dialogus inter Militem et Clericum
Richard FitzRalph's Sermon: 'Defensio
Curatorum'

AND

Methodius: 'þe Byggyng of þe World
and þe Ende of Worlde'

BY

JOHN TREVISA

VICAR OF BERKELEY

Now first edited from the MSS. Harl. 1900, St. John's College, Camb., H. 1,
Add. 24194, Stowe 65, and Chetham's Library

WITH AN INTRODUCTION ON

THE DESCRIPTION OF THE MSS., TREVISA'S LIFE AND WORKS,
AND A STUDY OF THE LANGUAGE

BY

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PREFACE

IN this edition of John Trevisa's translations of (1) Occam's *Dialogus inter Militem et Clericum*, (2) Fitz-Ralph's Sermon, *Defensio Curatorum*, and (3) Methodius, *The Beginning and the End of the World*, all the known manuscripts containing them have been used, except the Burleigh House MS. The British Museum MS. Harleian 1900 contains the *three* works. This I have used as the basic text. The *Dialogue* and the *Sermon* are found in four others, viz.: (1) British Museum MS. Additional 24194, (2) Stowe 65, in the British Museum, (3) Cambridge University, St. John's College, H. 1, and (4) Chetham's Library MS., in Chetham's Library, Manchester. These are used in collating, and designated thus: Additional = A, Cambridge = C, Chetham's Library = Ch, and Stowe = S. In parallel columns with the Methodius tract is printed a somewhat different version in Northern English, found in the British Museum, MS. Additional 37049. In parallel columns with the *Dialogue* is printed Berthelet's edition (1530?).

In collating the MSS., only a few spelling variants have been noted. The introduction contains: (1) A description of the various English MSS. containing the texts, with a list of many of the Latin MSS. and printed editions; (2) an investigation into the life and works of John Trevisa; and (3) a study of the language of the MSS.

I wish to express my thanks especially to Professor James Finch Royster, Head of the Department of English, University of North Carolina, who first suggested this study to me, and who started me in the work; to Dr. John Matthews Manly, Head of the Department of English, University of Chicago, Professor Thos. Albert

Knott, formerly of the University of Chicago, now of the University of Iowa, and Professor Francis A. Blackburn, University of Chicago, who were my first teachers in Old and Middle English, and who gave me a love for the subject. Professors Manly and Knott were most kind and considerate in giving helpful suggestions, and in checking my material as the work proceeded.

During the summer of 1914, when I copied the MSS. in England, I received help and assistance from so many people that it would be quite impossible to speak of them all here. I wish, however, to mention the following: Mr. J. A. Herbert, Deputy-Keeper of MSS., and Supts. Flower and Wood of the MSS. Dept. of the British Museum; Mr. R. Farquharson Sharp, Supt. of the Reading Room, British Museum; Mr. C. Sayle and Mr. G. G. Butler, Librarians of University Library and Corpus Christi Library, Cambridge University; Mr. F. Madan, Librarian of Bodley, and Mr. W. A. Stevenson, Librarian of St. John's College, Oxford University; Mr. H. Crossley, Librarian of Chetham's Library, Manchester; the Librarian at Lambeth Palace; the Supt. and Assistants of the Record Office, London.

The following have my thanks, because of much information received through letters: Miss Alice D. Greenwood of Oxford—hints and suggestions most helpful; Mr. Thos. M. Rutter, Assist. Librarian of Edinburgh University; President H. N. MacCracken, Vassar College; the Librarian, University of Glasgow; Mr. Alfred de Burgh, Assistant Librarian, Trinity College, Dublin; Sir Leslie Faulkner, Burghley House, Stamford; Lady Tollemache, Helmingham Hall, Stowmarket; Mr. P. E. B. Porter, The Hermitage, Saltash, Cornwall; Lady Coryton, Pentillie Castle, St. Mellion, Cornwall; Henry Jenner, F.S.A., Hoyle, Cornwall; Rev. J. Harvey Bloom, Stratford-on-Avon; Dr. J. Hambley Rowe, Bradford; Rev. H. J. Wilkins, D.D., Vicar of Westbury-on-Trym; Mr. Charles Wordsworth, 8 Nicholas

Hospital, Salisbury. These and others gave me valuable bibliographical material and other information.

It is altogether impossible to express my appreciation and thanks for the kindly and courteous assistance of Mr. John Munro, former Secretary of the Early English Text Society. I am under a great debt to Mr. Munro for giving me the right start on my arrival in England.

I wish also to express my thanks to Sir Israel Gollancz, Hon. Director of the E.E.T.S., and to Miss Mabel Day, D.Lit., Assistant Director and Secretary of the E.E.T.S., who have shown consideration and kindness at every stage of the work.

A great debt of gratitude is due to Professor William H. Hulme, Western Reserve University, for valuable hints and suggestions, and for his kindness in loaning me his MS. copies of Trevisa's 'Nicodemus'.

It has been a real pleasure to work with Mr. Frederick Hall, Controller of the Oxford University Press, and his staff in the printing of this work.

And finally I appreciate the kindness of Dr. A. W. Crawford, Head of my own Department, who has shown consideration in so many ways.

I am above all indebted to my wife, who assisted me in copying the MSS., in reading the proof, and in checking my work.

A. J. P.

UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA,
WINNIPEG, CANADA.

March, 1925.

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INTRODUCTION

PART I

MANUSCRIPTS AND PRINTED EDITIONS

THE MANUSCRIPTS

A. ENGLISH MANUSCRIPTS

MS. Harleian 1900.¹

THIS MS. is described in *Catalogus Librorum Manuscriptorum, Bibl. Harl.*, vol. ii, pp. 318-20 (1808). The writer names the different works in the MS., giving a description and digest of each. He seems not to have known that the *Dialogus inter Militem et Clericum* was a translation of a Latin work, as his opening sentence shows :

‘A parchment book in fol. bought and given by my noble Lord Harley : wherein are contained more of the Translations & Compositions of John de Trevisa, Vicar of Berkeley & Chaplain to Thomas Baron of Berkeley, than I have seen in any other book. They are :

1. *Dyalogus inter Militem & Clericum* : i. e. between the above mentioned Lord & himself : in English.’

¹ Babington and Lumby made some use of this MS. in their edition of Trevisa’s translation of Higden’s *Polychronicon* for the Rolls Series (1865-86), 9 vols. They begin to use it occasionally for collation in vol. ii, along with the MS. Cotton Lib. D. vii, designating them as β and γ respectively. Mr. Babington, in vol. i, in enumerating the works of Trevisa, mentions the Harl. MS. as containing our three works : the *Dialogue*, *Sermon*, and *Methodius*

tract. He thinks that it belongs to the beginning of the fifteenth century.

In the appendix to vol. vii of the above work (pp. 501-38), we find a selection from Harl. 1900 printed, beginning at fol. 248a (three lines from bottom), consisting of chapters 15-26. This is printed in full, and Cot. MS. is collated with it, because they differ widely from the version contained in the MS. used, viz. St. John’s College MS. H. 1. This

The MS. is a folio volume, containing 310 folios, 310 b only half written. Size $13\frac{7}{10} \times 9\frac{1}{2}$, printed portion 10×7 in. The initial letters of the chapters are three or four lines deep in red and blue. It is written in a large plain hand, with many abbreviations. Mr. J. A. Herbert, of the British Museum, dates it at the beginning of the fifteenth century.

Contents:

1. *Dialogus inter Militem et Clericum.*

ff. 1-5. Single columns, 40 lines to a page, except last page 35 $\frac{3}{4}$. Each line averages about 15 or 16 words. Written in a large careless hand, with many abbreviations. Some of first pages are greatly worn, or much faded. They give evidence of much examination. The first line, consisting of the title, is in Latin. There are catchwords on every page.

2. *Sermo Domini Archiepiscopi Armacani.*

ff. 6-21 a. Single column. 6 a = 38 lines, others 40, except 21 a = 37 lines and three words. Title at first in Latin. At end Latin 'Explicit'. Catchwords. Written in same hand as above, and as free from mistakes. Scarcely any marginal notes. The beginning of many sentences indicated by red and blue sign (ʒ). The same sign is used in the three extracts.

3. *Methodius*, 'þe begynnyng of þe world and þe Ende of Worlde.'

ff. 21 b-23 b. Double columns, 49 lines, six or seven words to a line. Chapters or sections begin with large letters, either all red, or with blue groundwork and red border. Written in the same hand as the two former, but

is the only part of the Harl. MS. that has thus far been printed.

Miss Alice Greenwood, in her article on 'The Beginnings of English Prose', in the *Cambridge History of English Literature* (vol. ii, pp. 503-4) speaks of Harl. 1900 containing the three works of this edition. She gives it as dated 1448. Dibdin describes it in his *Typ. Antiq.* 1810 (Dibdin, Ames's *Typographical Antiquities*, vol. i, p. 140); it is also described by Townsley in

1821 (*Illustrations of Bibl. Lit.*, vol. ii, p. 49). It is mentioned by Körting in his *Grundriss* (p. 141), but only with reference to the *Polychronicon*; by Morris and Skeat (Part 2, pp. 235 ff. and 339) in their *Specimens*, where they take a few readings from it, in the selection from the *Polychronicon* from MS. Cot. Lib. D. vii; Professor Emerson (*Middle English Reader*, pp. 220-5 and p. 311) mentions it as containing *Polychronicon*.

much smaller. The same abbreviations are used, and as many of the words were proper names difficulty was experienced in reading them. There is no title at the beginning. It closes with 'liber Metodij episcopi'.

4. *Index to Polychronicon.*

ff. 24-41. This is in two columns, and is written in the same hand as above. In ff. 24 and 25 there is a hole $1\frac{1}{2} \times 2$ in. The same blemish is found in ff. 29 and 30. Otherwise this portion is very clean. f. 41 b is blank except part of col. 1. Each new section begins with a large illuminated letter, usually with blue ground-work and red outline, or vice versa. On f. 41 b in right column, near the top, in a later hand is written: 'This indenture made The eight Day off Nouember The Yere off oure lord Mcccclviii betwyxt William Goodman.'

Across both columns near bottom of f. 41 b are the following words in another hand: 'This indenture made the eight day of nouembre the yere of oure lord Mcccclviii betwyxt william goodmann of chestre citie gentilmann and'

5. *Dialogue between Dominus and Clericus.*

ff. 42-3 b (6 lines). Single column, 40 lines.

6. *Trevisa's letter to Thomas Lord Berkeley*, 43 b (lines 7-32).

7. *Polychronicon.*

ff. 44-310 b ($20\frac{1}{2}$ lines). Single column, 40 lines to a page, written in same hand as previous. A few marginal notes, most of these in the same hand as MS.

(a) Prefaces ff. 44-6 b ($\frac{2}{3}$ page).

(b) Book I. „ 47-91 a ($\frac{1}{2}$ page).

II. „ 91 a-121 b ($\frac{1}{3}$ page).

III. „ 121 b-164 a ($\frac{1}{2}$ page).

IV. „ 164 a-196.

V. „ 196-234 a (whole page but four lines).

VI. „ 234 a-264 a „ „ „

VII. „ 264 a-310 b ($\frac{1}{2}$ page).

It closes thus: 'God be þonked of alle his dedes þis *translacioun* is ended in a þursday þe XVIII day of Aueryl þe ȝere of oure lord a þousand þre hundrid foure score & seuene, þe tenþe ȝere of Kyng Richard þe secunde after þe conquest of England, þe ȝere of my lordes age sire Thomas Lord of berkeley þat made me make þis *translacioun* fyue & þritty.'

¹ Four words are erased.

On the leaf before folio 1 the following are found in different hands :

‘Sent in by my Lord Harley 12 July 1714.’

‘This MS. is become doubly valuable since the loss of Cott. Lib. D. vii. It is much more ample than the printed copy of Trevisa’s *Higden*, in which Caxton has greatly changed the language, and omitted many passages. F. D.’

In pencil is written :

‘Other copies, equally fine with this, are in the Bodleian Library, and in Tennyson’s Library. T. M.’

St. John’s College, Camb. MS. H. 1.¹

This MS. does not contain the *Methodius* tract. Babington and Lumby used it as the basis of their edition of Trevisa’s *Polychronicon*. A partial description is found in Vol. I, iv and lvi. Full descriptions are given by James and Cowie.

The following is a part of James’s description :²

‘Vellum, 15 $\frac{5}{8}$ × 12, ff. 206 + 2, double columns of 44 lines. cent. XIV late, after 1387.’

‘Very well written and with good ornaments. On fly-leaf: “Elegantissimum hunc librum manuscriptum Bibliothecae Coll. S. Joh. Evang. donavit Mr. Baile de Newington in agro Middlesexiae A. D. 1674.”’³

Contents : 1. ‘Dialogus inter clericum et militem’, translated by Trevisa from the Latin of Ockham. f. 1.

A fine border of English ornament, gold, blue, and pink. Initial D green ground with gold flourishing. On L. the Knight in pink gown, gold chain, and loose blue cap : on R.

¹ Mr. Babington (Rolls Series of *Polychronicon*, vol. i, p. lviii) thinks this and Add. 24194 are only a few years later than Trevisa’s translation of *Polychronicon*. Mr. C. W. P. Orton, of St. John’s College Library, Camb., in a letter July 9, 1915, points out to me that the dress of the Knight in the first miniature is of about 1399. Miss Greenwood speaks of this MS. as used by Babington and Lumby in their Trevisa, and as containing the *Dialogue* and *Sermon*. Körting

speaks of it only in connexion with *Polychronicon*. Morris and Skeat give a few readings in their selection. Emerson speaks of this MS. being printed by Caxton in 1482. Mätzner (*Allenglische Sprachproben*, vol. i, pt. 2, pp. 341–73) and Dr. Manly (*English Prose*, 1137–1890, 1909, pp. 11–12) take their selections from this MS.

² *Descriptive Catalogue of MSS. in the Library of St. John’s College, Camb.*, p. 235.

³ Fol. 1 b. This is the only mark on a blank folio.

the clerk in blue gown with tippet, lined with white fur, black skull-cap, holding book.

Ends f. 5: and nouȝt man for þe holy day.

Expl. Dialogus inter clericum et militem.

2. Inc. sermo domini Archiepiscopi Armachani (translated by Trevisa). f. 5.

Demeþ nouȝt bi þe face but riȝtful dome ȝe deme. Joh. 8^o
c^o holy fader in þe bygynnyng of my sermon.

There are some marginalia in a hand of the fifteenth century, also in English, traversing the preacher's statements.

Ends f. 18 b: but riȝtful dome ȝe deme. Qui cum patre, etc.

3. Table in Latin to the *Polychronicon*. f. 19.

4. Table in English to the same. f. 26 b.

5. The *Polychronicon* of Ranulph Higden in the English version of Trevisa. f. 34.

Ending: 280 a: 'to conferme þe pees and couenantes in eyþer side. God be þonked of al his nedes þis translacioun is lended in a þorsday þe eyȝtþe day of Aueryle, þe ȝere of oure lord a þowsand þre hundred foure score and seuene, þe tenþe ȝere of kyng Richard þe secunde after þe conquest of Engelond, þe ȝere of my lordes age sire Thomas of Berkeley þat made me make þis translacioun fyue and thrytty. Deo gracias.'

Cowie¹ says of the *Dialogue* 'that it appears to be different from that in the printed edition'. He also has this note on the sermon:

'This is mentioned by Dibdin among the translations of John de Trevisa, "a translation of the Latin sermon of Radulf or Fitz-Rauf, Archbishop of Armagh, No. 3, 1357." Among the Harl. MSS. 1900. It is against the Mendicant Friars.

vide Dibdin, *Typ. Antiq.*, vol. i, p. 141.'

Br. Mus. MS. Additional 24194.²

This MS. was used in preparing the Rolls Series of Trevisa's *Polychronicon*. It is designated as δ in the collation notes. Mr. Babington uses it to correct the errors and supply the defects of Cambridge MS. H. 1.³ It was formerly in the

¹ *Des. Cat. of MSS. and Scarce Books in St. John's College, Camb.*, pp. 75, 76.

Rolls Series, vol. i, pp. lvi, lvii.

² Descriptions are found in (a) Trevisa's translation of *Polychronicon*, ed. Babington and Lumby, in

(b) *Cat. of Add. to MSS. in Br. Mus.*, 1854-1875, vol. ii, p. 19. (c) *Paleographical Soc.* ii. 171.

³ Rolls Series, vol. i, p. lvi.

possession of Thomas Tenison, Archbishop of Canterbury (d. 1715); and was bought by the British Museum July 1, 1861.¹

It is vellum, consisting of 263 leaves, measuring $16\frac{1}{2} \times 11\frac{1}{2}$ in., in double columns of 47 lines. It is usually assigned to the beginning of the fifteenth century. Mr. Babington thinks this and Camb. MS. are only a few years later than the date of Trevisa's translation (1387). To Mr. Bond this MS. seems slightly the older.² It is written in a clear hand, and beautifully ornamented with an illuminated border at the beginning of each book, and with initials in gold and colours.

The MS. appears to have been written for Richard de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, whose arms are introduced into two of the ornamented borders, viz. pp. 1 and 33. Sir Frederic Madden says: 'The Earl of Warwick, for whom this MS. was executed, is Richard Beauchamp, who died in 1439, and who married Margaret, sole daughter and heiress of Thomas, Lord Berkeley,³ for whom the translation was made by Trevisa.'⁴

Mr. Babington, in a note, vol. i, p. lviii, of *Polychronicon*, gives evidence as to this marriage as taken from MS. Life of the Berkeleys by Smyth. The contract of the marriage was entered into in September, 17 Richard II. The date of the marriage is not given, but it is stated that the marriage was intended to be solemnized 'as soon as conveniently may be', and that the bride was then under the age of 'seven yeares'. Her death took place on the 28th September, 1 Henry VI.

The description of contents as given in *Catalogue to Additions* is:

24194. English Translations of John of Trevisa, Vicar of

¹ On fol. 1a is written: 'Purchased at the sale of Archbishop Tenison's Manuscripts, 1st July, 1861.' It was listed in his library as MS. No. 1.

² Rolls Series, p. lviii. Mr. R. Flower, Superintendent in the MS. Department of the British Museum, writing to me June 21, 1915, thinks it earlier than 1439, for it contains the arms of Richard Beauchamp,

Earl of Warwick, who died in that year. Supt. Wood of the British Museum is also of the same opinion.

³ The writer in *Cat. of Add. to MSS. in Br. Mus.*, vol. ii, p. 19, has Thos. 10th Lord Berkeley. The writer in *Pal. Soc.* ii. 171 designates him as 5th Lord Berkeley.

⁴ *Polychronicon*, vol. i, p. lvii. Same written on fol. 1a unsigned.

Berkeley, Gloucester, and Chaplain to Thos. 10th Lord of Berkeley, viz. :

1. 'Dialogus inter militem et clericum' on spiritual and temporal power (see the Latin tract in Royal 6 E. III, f. 130), f. 4.
2. 'Sermo domini archiepiscopi Armacani' (Richard Fitz-Ralph, Archbishop of Armagh) preached at Avignon in 1350,¹ against the begging friars. f. 8.
3. The *Polychronicon* of Ralph Higden, preceded by an index and three prefaces. A whole quire containing Bk. III, c. xli, to Bk. IV, c. iv, is wanting after f. 139; and Bk. I, c. cci-iv, and part of chapter xiv to xxv of Bk. VI (f. 214) have been omitted. f. 21.

The initials E.W. are on a fly-leaf at the beginning; and at the end in green paint, R.P. At the end of the index, f. 35 b, occurs 'William Bradwell, Anno Domini, 1610'. At the end of the volume are found the following: 'John Knighton', f. 262; 'William Knighton', f. 262 b; 'Edward Coulson', f. 263 b; and on the last leaf, 'Emanuel, Anno Domini. 1570.'²

Trevisa's ending is as follows: 'þis translacion is yended in a þorsday þe eyztēpe day of Aueryl, þe ʒere of oure lord a þow-sand þre hondred foure score and seuene, þe tenþe ʒere of Kyng Richard þe secounde after þe conquest of England, þe ʒere of my lordes age sire Thomas Lorde of Berkeley þat made me þis translacioun fyue and þirtty.'

In answer to the query in regard to this MS. which appeared in *Notes and Queries*, 2nd Series, vol. v, p. 110, 'Is it known where this MS. is now preserved? If lost, as I fear, are there any known transcripts of it, and where?' the following answer signed by Bibliothecar Chetham appeared in *Notes and Queries*, 2nd Series, vol. v, No. 112, February 26, 1858, pp. 159-60:

'I was informed by the Rev. Philip Hale, ex-librarian of Abp. Tenison's Library, not many months since, that the

¹ Mr. Bond, who compiled the *Catalogue* in 1877, has wrong date. See discussion of place and date, p. ciii.

² Miss Greenwood speaks of this MS. as used by Babington and

Lumby in their edition of Trevisa, and as containing the *Dialogue* and *Sermon*. Körting and Emerson speak of it only in connexion with *Polychronicon*.

collection remains intact in the building formerly used as the reading room, 42 Castle Street, Leicester Square. Of the translation by John de Trevisa of the Latin sermon of Radulph, or Fitz-Rauf, Archbishop of Armagh, Nov. 8th, 1357, there are, I believe, several copies in various collections. Among the Harl. MSS. 1900; in the library of St. John's College, Cambridge (see Transactions of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society: A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts and Scarce Books in the Library of St. John's College, Cambridge, by the Rev. Morgan Cowie, Cambridge, 1843, 4^{to}, p. 77); in the Chetham library, Manchester. This copy contains thirteen leaves, beginning "Demeþ nocht by preface bote ryȝtful dom ye deme, Joh. viii. 5".

This learned tract against Mendicant Friars, which has escaped Bale and Pits, is noticed in Dibdin's *Typ. Antiq.*, vol. i, p. 141.¹

Br. Mus. MS. Stowe 65.

This MS. is not mentioned in the Rolls Series of Trevisa's *Polychronicon*; nor is it mentioned by Miss Greenwood, Körting, Morris and Skeat, or Emerson. It is fully described in the *Catalogue of Stowe MSS. in the British Museum*, vol. i, p. 42, 1895. It is a well-written manuscript. I have used it in my edition, designating it in the notes as S. It differs somewhat from the three previous MSS., and resembles the Chetham MS.

It is written on vellum, consisting of 222 folios. It is early fifteenth century, and written in double columns of 49 lines. The initials of the chapters are in red and blue. The several books begin with illuminated borders. On the last page is an acquittance to Edw. Clere (of Blickling, Sheriff of Norfolk in 1567) for rent of a tenement in 'Saynt Edmondes in Norwiche, in old tyme Sir Nicholas Goldwell', November 24, 1559.

The text of the *Polychronicon* differs from the MSS. used in the Rolls Series. The writer in the *Catalogue* lists a number of passages, which are supplied in a 'modern imitative hand', chiefly from Caxton's edition, including the false date 1357 (for 1387) at the end. The *Polychronicon* covers ff. 1-202. This is followed by:

(a) 'Dialogus inter clericum et militem'; a Dialogue on the spiritual and temporal power, beginning, 'Ich wondere, sore

¹ This was reprinted in *Bibl. Chet.*, vol. iv (1862), p. 433.

noble Kniȝt', translated from the Latin of Wm. Occam. ff. 202-5 b.

(b) *Sermo dni. Archiepiscopi Armacani* (Richard Fitz-Ralph) factus Auinione 8^o die mensis Nouembris, anno dni. 1358^o; a sermon against the Mendicant orders, on John vii, 24, 'Demeþ noȝt by þe face.' ff. 205 b-217.

(c) 'Dialogus inter dominum et clericum': a dialogue in English on translation, as an introduction to the *Polychronicon*, beginning: 'Seþþe þat Babel was buld.' ff. 217-18.

(d) Letter of Trevisa, on his translation of Higden, to his patron, Thomas Berkeley, 5th Baron Berkeley (ob. 1417), beginning, 'Thomas lord of Berkeleye, I John Trevisa, etc.' f. 218.

(e) Alphabetical table of contents of the *Polychronicon*, f. 218. The Latin index found in other MSS. is wanting here.

On a half-leaf between ff. 201 and 202, in a different hand, we find this closing: 'Thankynges and praysynges be to Almyghty God of all his dedes. This translation is ended on a Thursday the eyghtenth daye of Apryll. The yere of oure lorde a thousande thre hundred fyfty seuen. The one & thyrty yere of Kyngedome of Edward the thyrde after the conqueste of Engelonde. The yere of my lordes auge Syre Thomas lorde of Barkley, that made me make this translacyon fyue & thyrty.'

Chetham's Library MS.

This manuscript is not mentioned by Babington and Lumby, nor by Miss Greenwood, Körting, Emerson, or Morris and Skeat. Boase and Courtney refer to it in their *Bibl. Cornubiensis*, vol. ii, p. 797 (1878). It is described in *Bibliotheca Chethamensis*, vol. iv, p. 433 (1862), as No. 11379.

The MS. is a folio, vellum, single column, 37 lines on a page. Size, $13\frac{4}{5} \times 10\frac{1}{2}$ inches; reading material, $91\frac{4}{5} \times 7\frac{3}{10}$. It is beautifully written, with illuminated capitals frequently interspersed.

Contents:

- (1) ff. 1 a-5 b (ll. 30 $\frac{1}{2}$): *Dialogus inter clericum et militem*.
- (2) ff. 5 b (l. 31 title)-18 b (37 lines): *Sermo dni. Archiepiscopi Armacani*.
- (3) ff. 19 a-34 b ($\frac{1}{2}$ col.): Index to *Polychronicon* in two cols.

- (4) ff. 35 a-36 b ($\frac{1}{2}$ page): Prefaces, about $\frac{5}{8}$ of first preface wanting, f. 37 a blank.
- (5) ff. 37 b-60 a (25 lines: First book of *Poly.* 60 caps. (caps. 19-31 omitted, also 33-43). Trevisa's notes occur cap. 10 near end, 13, 31 near end, 46, 58, and 53.
- (6) ff. 60 a-74 b: Second book of *Poly.* 74 b ends cap. 17 abruptly; 75 a begins Bk. III, cap. 27. Notes by Trevisa caps. 1, 2, 4, 6, 10, 11.
- (7) ff. 75 a-86 b: Third Book of *Poly.* caps. 27-35. Notes by Trevisa caps. 32, 33, 34, 35.
- (8) ff. 87 a-108 b: Fourth Book of *Poly.* beg. at cap. 2. Notes by Trevisa cap. 2.
- (9) ff. 109 a-125 b: Fifth Book of *Poly.*
- (10) ff. 126 a-140 b: Sixth Book of *Poly.*
- (11) ff. 141 a-178 b: Seventh Book of *Poly.*¹

It will thus be seen that parts of the *Polychronicon* are wanting in this MS.

On folio 2 a is written:

‘Polycronicon
wrytten in Latine by Ran. Higden Monk of St. Werburg’s in
Chester
translated into English
by
John de Trevisa.’

The first five leaves of the MS. contain ‘Dialogus inter Militem et Clericum’. The next thirteen leaves contain a Discourse of the Archbishop of Armagh, entitled ‘Incipit Sermo Dni. Archiepi. Armacani: Demeth nogt by Preface bote rygtful Dom ye deme. John 8, 5’.

Fol. 1 has been much damaged. The right side of fol. (a) is almost impossible to read. The lower right-hand corners of the first eight or nine folios are badly wrinkled and marred.

Br. Mus. MS. Additional 37049.

This is a copy of the *Methodius* tract on the ‘Beginning and Ending of the World’, in a Northern dialect. I have printed it in parallel columns with the same tract from MS. Harl. 1900.

¹ It closes Book VII near the beginning of chap. 44 with these words: ‘her many men conspired for to help at his deliverance, but

he died about the feast of . . .’ (see *Polychronicon*, Rolls Series, vol. viii, p. 325).

In the *Catalogue of Additions*¹ it is numbered 37049, headed: 'The Desert of Religion & other poems and religious pieces, etc., mostly illustrated in Northern English.' The collection consists of 71 articles, ours being No. 4, and running from folio 11 to 16 b (20 lines). It is said to be a translation from the Latin version (Royal MS. 8 F. viii, f. 170, and elsewhere) of the *Revelationes* of the pseudo-Methodius.

The MS. consists of ff. 1 + 96, single columns, $10\frac{3}{4} \times 8$ in. paper, except 1 and 2. First half of the fifteenth century. About one-third of each page is covered with crude coloured drawings, illustrating the text. The rest of the space is taken up with from 24 to 26 lines of writing, carelessly written and hard to decipher. Many of the pages are mutilated at bottom, especially articles 70 and 71.

Fol. 11 a has three drawings: (1) The Lord to Adam and Eve, (2) The Serpent beguiling Eve, (3) The Angel with the Sword, and 25 lines of writing.

Fol. 11 b has two pictures: (1) The Flood, (2) The Ark, and 26 lines.

On f. 12 a we find pictures of Noah and the Altar, and the Tower of Babel, with 26 lines of writing. On every page we find one or two pictures, covering about the same space. There is writing explaining each of these drawings, sometimes written over the top, often through the picture, sometimes at the right or left.

Burleigh House MS.

This is a valuable MS., as it contains the three works in the present edition. It is especially important, as it is the only MS. of the five used, besides the Harleian, that contains the *Methodius* tract in Southern English. Thus it is greatly to be regretted that it could not be found for use in this edition.²

¹ *Cat. of Add. to MSS. in the Br. Mus.* (1900-1905), pp. 324-32.

² A serious effort was made by myself, assisted by Mr. J. Munro, then Assistant-Secretary of the E.E.T.S., to obtain a copy of this MS. The

Marquis of Exeter, through his Secretary, Sir Leslie Falkiner, Bart., was most kind in searching his library, but after several efforts, in a letter under date of July 19, 1914, he writes 'that there was no

A full and complete description of the MS. is given by Alfred J. Horwood, in the *Sixth Report of the Royal Commission of Historical Manuscripts, 1877*. In Part I, p. xi, he says :

‘The Marquis of Exeter’s library contains a fine copy, on vellum, of Trevisa’s translation into English of Higden’s *Polychronicon* ; and in the same volume are translations by Trevisa of other works, including Archbishop Turpin’s romance chronicle of Charlemagne and his Peers at Roncevalles. This volume was probably the property of William Cecil, Lord Burghley, for his hand writing is seen on the margin of one of the leaves.’

In the appendix (p. 234) to the same report, just before the description, Mr. Horwood says :

‘The MSS. of the Most Honourable, the Marquis of Exeter, at Burghley House, Stamford. One of the MSS. at Burghley house bears marks of having been consulted by Lord Treas. Burghley ; it is a very fine copy of Trevisa’s translation into English of Higden’s *Polychronicon*, accompanied by Trevisa’s translation of other works, and by a translation into English of Archbishop Turpin’s legendary chronicle of Charlemagne and his peers.’

Miss Greenwood speaks of it as containing the *Dialogue between Dominus and Clericus*, the *Epistle to Lord Berkley*, the *Methodius* tract, the *Sermon*, and *Dialogus inter Militem et Clericum*. She makes a mistake, however, in placing the last three with Bartholomaeus at Burleigh House. According to Mr. Horwood’s report this MS. contains the *Polychronicon*, together with those just mentioned. It seems, therefore, to have the same contents as MS. Harl. 1900.

The following is part of the description as given in Mr. Horwood’s report :

‘Large folio, vellum C 1420 (and later) in two columns.

I. *Dialogus inter militem et clericum*. Clericus. Y wonder

trace of the MS. anywhere, neither in the Library Catalogue or elsewhere, and that there seems to be no trace of it as far back as 1845.’ Miss Alice Greenwood, who refers to the MS. in her article in *Camb. Hist. of Eng. Lit.*, writes me July 29, 1914, ‘that she did not verify it as

being at Burleigh House, at the time of her writing in 1908. The correspondence with librarians was done by officials of the Cambridge University Press.’ It was not used by Babington and Lumby in their Rolls Series edition.

sir noble Knyzt þat in fwe daies tymes be changid, riȝt is y-buried, lawes biȝ ouertorned and statutes biȝ y-trode under feet. Ends on folio 5 b. (This is a translation into English of Ockham's tract under the same title. An English translation was printed by Berthelet (temp. Hen. VIII.)

II. Folio 5 b. Incipit sermo domini archiepiscopi Armacani. Begins: Demiȝ nought y^e face, but riȝtful dome ye deme. John 8^o, 1^o. Holy fadyr, in the begynnyng of my sermon I make a protestation. Ends (20 b): as I prayed in þe first þat I touched, demith nouȝt bi þe face, etc. (This is a translation of the 'Defensio curatorum contra eos qui se privilegiatos dicunt', composed by Richard Fitz-Ralph, Archbishop of Armagh, in 1357. The Latin version, with Roger Conway's counterblast, was printed by John Trechsel in 1496.)

III. The book of Methodie the bishop of the church of Paterene and martir of (sic) Crist, which he charged to translate of hebrue and greek speche in to Latyn, þat is of y^e beginnyng of y^e worlde wiche y^e noble man Seint Jerom in his workes praysed. Begins: For whi hit is to wite. Ends in the first column of 23 b.

IV. Trevisa's translation of Higden's *Polychronicon*. First comes a table (in 16 leaves) to the Chronicle. Next is the dialogue between a Clerk and a Lord (i. e. Trevisa and Lord Berkeley) beginning: Siȝþe þat Babel was y-buld men spekiȝ diuerse tonges. (This is printed at the beginning of Caxton's edition.) Then comes Trevisa's epistle to Lord Berkeley, beginning: Welpe and worship to my worthy and worshipful Lord, Sir Thomas lord of Berkley, I John Treuysa etc.

The text of the *Polychronicon* begins: 'after solempne and wise writers of art'. Ends: 'and soon þer after were messengers sent to Auenion to the Pope to conferme y^e pees and the couenants in eiper side. God be thanked of all his dedis þis translation is ended on a þursday y^e 18th day of Aueril, y^e yere of our Lord 1347' (adding that Sir Thomas Lord of Berkeley was then aged 35).¹

The last date in the text is 1347, and very little space is occupied with the events between the date of the last sentence which refers to the confirmation of the Treaty of Bretigny made in 1360.'

The report closes with Horwood's acknowledgements to the Marquis of Exeter for the hospitality at Burleigh House.

¹ Compare this date with other endings, and discussion of closing date, pp. lxxvii ff.

Relation of the Five Middle-English Manuscripts.

Orthographically the MSS. group themselves thus: (1) H, (2) A C, (3) S Ch, as is shown by the following forms:

	H	A	C	S	Ch
<i>Dial.</i>					
2/12	haueþ	hap			habbeþ
6/26	dide	dede			dude
7/3	sey3	seigh			sy3
14/16	sey	seie			sygge
16/13	dewe (vb. do)	þow		þew	þuwe
18/1	seyn	seieþ		seggeþ	syggeþ
21/6	due (adj.)	dewe			þew
25/13	biggeþ	beggeþ			buggeþ
26/8	myrþe	merþe			murþe

<i>Sermon.</i>					
38/9	her	hire			here
50/20	dar	durre		þere	þurre
51/8	here (adverb)	hire		huyre	heyre
52/5	sueþ	seweþ		seweþ	syweþ
52/7	ony	any			eny
54/2	ferþe	fourþe		ferþe	veurþe
57/9	hereþ	hireþ			huyreþ
60/11	fleece	flees			vluys
62/2	due	dewe			þewe
73/11	gossippes	gossibbes			godsybbes
78/20	dide	dede			dude
79/21	þou3	þei			þey3
80/6	„	„			„
80/12	„	„			„

In many cases H resembles A C, thus making two groups in spelling.

	H	A	C	S	Ch
<i>Dial.</i>					
3/12		he			a
6/4		from		fro	vram
6/17		3ede		3uede	3ude
7/7		þei		hey	hy
10/12 (many times)		haueþ			habbeþ
16/6		rule			reule
21/7		lese			leuse
21/7		fee			feo
22/13		here			huyre
27/5		siluer			seluer
32/9		chirche			cherche
32/14		dewe (due)			þewe

<i>Sermon.</i>	H	A C	S	Ch
48/4		herde		y-hurd
51/1		dewe (due)		þewe
52/13		leseþ		lueseþ
56/12		þider		þuder
56/22		þei		þay
58/26		lese		luese (leuse Ch)
67/22		nynþe		nyþe
74/30		þilke		þulke
76/14		þese		þues
88/8		stalworþe		stalword
88/30		wrouzt		wrozte
93/3		feip		fey
93/3		truþe	trewþe	treuthe
93/8		seuenthe		seueþe.

In a few cases H S Ch agree: H S Ch write 'axep', A C 'askep', H S Ch 'turne', A C 'torne'.

S and Ch almost invariably have 'a', where the other MSS. have 'þei'. They also write 'a' for 'he'. In the 3rd pers. pron., when S and Ch do not write 'a' for 'þei', S has 'hey', Ch 'hy'. In *Sermon* 47/2 the following occurs:

H	S	Ch	A	C
þei	a	a	þei	he
þei	hey	þei	þei	hy

This irregularity, however, is not usual. Rarely does A use 'a' for 'þei'.

The following readings group the manuscripts thus:

Dial.

	H	S	Ch	A	C
6/14		cupes		cupes	ful
20/5		forfadres		forme	fadres
24/7		myldliche		mekeliche	
35/5		wityng		writinge	

Sermon.

42/29	þerby	þei be
43/17	þat	þat þat
56/8	come	þere come
62/10	reulere	reguler
71/10	but a nouys	hote noon
71/28	folly (fully, volly)	cristene
82/13	half (hal Ch)	al
85/13	lowe (Lat. <i>humilis</i>)	lewede (also S)
87/8	strenger (L. <i>fortiora</i>)	certeyn
89/23	a	on

Group A C

Although S is nearer the original Latin, as will be shown later, I shall first discuss the group A C. The scribe of C is most careless. His mistakes are (1) omissions of lines, usually one or two, but in *Sermon*, p. 48, ll. 29-35, eight lines, and p. 61, ll. 22-7, six lines; (2) words different from the other MSS.; (3) an occasional repetition of a line or part of a line; (4) wrong translations.

(1) The omissions:

These are very numerous, and mostly visual errors. The eye has in nearly every case dropped from one word to a like word in a lower line. These errors appear very frequently, not only in the *Dialogue* and *Sermon*, but also in *Polychronicon*. A close examination shows that in the great majority of omissions the words which caused the omission are directly under each other in A. This points to A as the direct origin of C. There are facts, however, as will appear later, that make this impossible.

Some of the C omissions are:

Dial.

- 9/6 temporalte—temporalte, one line.
- 11/8 deme—deme, one line.
- 11/9 vn rightful—vn rightful, mid. of lines 1 and 3 in A.
- 25/5 pees—pees.
- 28/8 places—places (in same place in A).
- 28/10 ezechias—ezechias (under each other in A).
- 32/10 seruisse—seruisse ('seruisse', lines 1 and 4, in A exactly under).

Sermon.

- 45/14 dedes—dedes (in A 'dedes' first word in 1 and 4).
- 48/29 parische—parische (in A 'parische' middle of lines 1 and 9).
- 49/23 heste—heste (in A 'heste' middle of lines 1 and 4).
- 52/20 persone—persone (in A 'persone' exactly under 1 and 5).
- 61/22 heeste—heeste (in A 'heeste' middle of lines 1 and 7).

Then certain passages are omitted by A and C, which would seem as though C were direct from A. These are, however, not numerous. *Dial.* 9/3 Kyngdom—Kyngdom, *Dial.* 31/4 'for þe & for me', instead of 'for me & for þe' in other MSS.;

Sermon 62/5 'þe same' in A C, but not in Latin or other MSS.

(2) C's words different from other MSS. in the *Dialogue* :

9/13 'alwey', Lat. and MSS. = 'away', 10/12 'whan', MSS. = 'whom', 14/1 'causes' for 'cases', 23/7 'begile not'.

This is correct form in Lat. and Pr., other MSS. omit 'not'.

Instances in the *Sermon* are :

H S Ch A	C
39/17 þere nyne	þer ynne (wrong)
45/5 such (Lat. <i>tales</i>)	seche (<i>verb</i>)
60/20 wip hem (Lat. <i>secum</i>)	away
60/30 þei	þat
62/12 do	vse
63/18 by	but
68/18 kepe	keke
72/7 fre	þe
72/9 be dewe	be dede
76/19 þefþe	þe fecte
77/7 euel getyng	mater
79/14 worschip	pouert
80/24 þreuyng	reprefyng
87/18 „	prechynge
88/12 catel	trauaille
88/29 folewe	knowe
89/18 slowe (Lat. <i>pigrum</i>)	soule

Some of the differences are evidently scribal errors, but they point to an independent source for C.

(3) Repetitions in C :

Sermon 41/20 after 'þee', repeated 'þat þow sixte wip þyn eyze'. The eye of the writer glanced above and brought the line down.

Sermon 53/31 after 'pryuyleges' 'schulde voide many damage'. This is repeated from above. 54/17 after 'hym', written, 'in token of his lordschippe'. In this passage the eye dropped two lines, and thus the phrase was repeated.

Further proof that C did not copy from A is found in the fact that a few passages and words are omitted in A, but occur in C.

Sermon 63/19 about two lines. Also 74/13, 84/1, 87/20. Further, referring to Ch *Polychronicon*, several chapters are absent from A (see description of Additional 24194, p. xxi). Thus it would seem that A and C are independent copies of some original.

GROUP H S Ch

In this group S Ch fall together, not only in orthography but by certain readings:

<i>Dial.</i>	H	S Ch	<i>Sermon</i>	H	S Ch
2/12	þei	hey or hy	41/20	wip ynne þee	wip þyn ey3e
2/12	haueþ	habbeþ	43/8	his	þis (Lat. <i>hoc</i>)
5/9	feip	fey			
6/1	herde	y-hurd	17/23	þese	in þis
6/22	þanne	þo	50/20	dar	þurre (þere Ch)
10/7	bade	heet	57/12	mawme- trie	mametrie
			60/11	fleece	vluys
16/13	dewe(<i>vb.</i>)	þewe (þuwe)	63/11	seep (Lat. <i>viderit</i>)	seweþ (suweþ Ch)
			63/12	lecherie	spuse- breche
19/10	stireþ	stureþ	73/11	gossippes	godsybbes
21/6	due (<i>adj.</i>)	þew	79/8	þis	þese
			84/27	bade	hete
25/7	comyneþ	comuneþ (com- neþ Ch)	87/8	til (Lat. <i>donec</i>)	forto
			90/25	þat	þan (Lat. <i>quam</i>)
			91/27	kitt	kutte

S is a comparatively late MS., perhaps twenty or thirty years later than H. Many passages are omitted in the *Polychronicon*. These are filled in by a later hand. Therefore H could not be derived from S. Ch omits fols. 6 a-8 a (pp. 39-47) of the *Sermon*. Ch cannot then be the source of H.

As has been shown, H is related to AC in orthography. On the other hand, it is related to S Ch by certain readings. And yet H has a few distinct readings which seem to point to an independent manuscript as its source. Examples: *Dial.* 10/7 H 'bade', all other MSS. read 'heet'; *Dial.* 29/5 H 'a3ensaye', others 'wipseie'.

Sermon 41/20 H 'wip ynne þee'. AC S Ch read this correctly 'wip þyn ey3e'. 42/29 'þer by' HS, Lat. 'ac þer hoc', AC is wrong having 'þei be'. 46/7 and 8 H has misinterpreted, left out 'þat', and begun a new sentence with '3if þei', AC and S have

corrected this. 46/29 Lat. 'imponendam', H 'enioye', A CS 'enioyne'. This looks like a mere scribal error on the part of H. 59/1 Lat. 'aliud', H 'more', other MSS. 'anoþer'; 63/11 Lat. 'viderit', H 'seep', other MSS. 'seweþ'; 79/8 Lat. 'iste', A 'pis', other MSS. 'þese'; 87/8 Lat. 'donec', H 'til', other MSS. 'forto'; 88/23 Lat. 'verbo nostro', H 'lord', MSS. 'word'; 90/25 Lat. 'quam', H 'þat', MSS. correct 'þan'.

H is probably the oldest of the five manuscripts. The scribe has been careless in a few places. None of the omissions is very significant. They are *Dial.* 8/6, 11/6, 34/1; *Sermon* 41/32, 60/10, 63/31, 90/4. The passages omitted thus in H are found in the other MSS. Inasmuch as S has these omitted passages, H cannot be the source of S. Furthermore S is quite independent of H, because it contains many passages, identical with the original Latin, which are not met with in H, or any of the other MSS. This places S nearer the original MS., and in it we have the purest form of the *Dialogue* and the *Sermon*. And yet it is a late MS., and has many long passages omitted in the *Polychronicon*, which are supplied by a later hand.

In the *Dialogue* the following passages occur only in S, which agree with the Latin, and the printed edition:

5/4 'not' in 'may not be wiþseid'; 8/3 a passage after 'temperalte'; 35/8 a passage after 'nede'; 25/12 S wrongly writes 'sueþ', when all the other MSS. Lat. and Pr. write 'seep'.

Examples in *Sermon*:

39/19 S 'to þis holy court', Lat. 'sanctus', other MSS. omit 'holy'.

41/32 S has 'place', omitted in others, Lat. 'locus',

55/10 After 'falliþ to' a passage in S and Lat. not found in other MSS.

57/14 'to þe riȝtful manes offiȝs it longeþ'. 'it longeþ', Lat. 'pertinet', only in S.

57/32 After 'schryue' a passage in Lat. and S.

59/1 'þe lore of', only in S, Lat. 'doctrinae'.

63/3 S 'symonye', other MSS 'money', Lat. 'pecunia'.

64/1 after 'gospel', two lines found in S, but om. in other MSS.

65/24 S 'noon', other MSS. newe, Lat. 'cum sit nulla'.

68/10 S 'pei were noȝt', other MSS. 'pei were', Lat. 'non fuerant'.

73/17 S only correct 'pat y wolde noȝt þenke of a mayde', Lat. 'ne cogitare de virgine'.

79/19 S 'ynow for me', others 'ynow', Lat. 'mihi sufficient'.

That S is not the original of the other four manuscripts is shown from a number of omissions, which are found in the MSS., and in the original Latin :

Dial. :

12/12 after 'demynge'.

Sermon :

51/11 'ech ȝere' for 'al þe ȝere', Lat. 'per totum annum'.

57/26 om. of 'þe beste' in 'þe beste beestes', Lat. 'pinguiora'.

The above evidence seems to point to a group S Ch, standing nearest to the original. They are probably from the same copy. H is from a different MS., and further from the original than the S Ch group. The MSS. A C form a third group further removed from the original copy than the other two groups.

B. LATIN MANUSCRIPTS

John Trevisa was a noted translator of the fourteenth century. His literary work is an effort to render into simple English some of the outstanding scientific, historical, and religious material of his time. In his epistle to Lord Thomas of Berkeley on the translation of the *Polychronicon*, he says :

'For travell will I not spare comfort I have in medefull makeing and plesinge to God, and in knowing that I wote that it is your will: for to make this translation clere and plaine, to be known and understandyn. In some place I shall set word for word and actiffe for actiffe and passife for passife arowe right as it standeth without changinge the ordre of words. But in some places I must change the order of words and set actiffe for passife and aȝen word. And in some places I must set a reason for a word, and tell what it meaneth; But for all such changing the meaning shall stand and not be changed.'¹

The material that he used was ready at hand, found in many

¹ Taken from *Epistle* as printed by Smyth, *Lives of the Berkeleys*, vol. i, p. 343.

Latin MSS. The chief of these MSS. are here listed, most of which were examined and compared with the English.

Dialogus inter Militem et Clericum.

- (1) **Br. Museum MS. Cotton Nero D. VIII.**¹
Codex Membrane, in folio, contains 347 ff., double columns, 41 lines. No. 10, 'Disputatio inter clericum et militem super potestate commissa praelatis, ecclesiasticis, atque principibus terrarum.' ff. 183 a (col. 1) $\frac{1}{3}$ –196 a (col. 2) 14 lines. Written in a large hand, with no ornamentation.
- (2) **Br. Mus. MS. Reg. 6 E. III.**²
Vellum, 16 × 11 in. 56 articles, ff. 292. The *Dial.* is article No. 41, ff. 130–2 b (col. 2). 56 lines in a column, written very plainly. No ornamentation or colouring.
- (3) **St. John's College, Camb., No. 160 (F. 23).**³
Vellum, $9\frac{3}{8} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ in. ff. 187. Mostly 29 lines to a page. Cent. XV. An ugly hand. Contents, i. Will Ockham. Disputatio inter clericum et militem, ff. 1 b–6 a.
- (4) **St. John's College, Camb., No 115 (E. 12).**⁴
Vellum, $8 \times 4\frac{5}{8}$ in. ff. 160 + 2. 37, 35 &c. lines to a page. Cent. XIV and XV. Well written, but filled with contractions. Contents, No. 4 (Ockam). Disputatio inter clericum et militem, etc. ff. 87 b–95 a.
- (5) **Corpus Christi College, Camb., No. 156 (p. 21).**⁵
Paper and vellum, $11\frac{4}{5} \times 8\frac{1}{5}$ in. ff. 74 + 13 + 115 + 99 + 21. Cent. XV and XVI. Several vols. in various hands. Contents, iii, 22. ff. 110–15. Disputatio inter clericum etc.
- (6) **Br. Mus. MS. Additional 33243.**⁶
Liber dyalogorum (Willelmi) Okam. Vellum, ff. 283. Single col. 45 lines. $11\frac{1}{2} \times 8$ in. Index at first: Dialogues between Magister and Discipulis, entitled 'Dialogi Okami de

¹ *Catalogue of MSS. in Cottonian Library*, 1802, p. 238.

² Casley, David, *Catalogue of MSS. in King's Library*, 1734, pp. 114 and 115.

³ M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of MSS. in Library of St. John's*

College, Camb., 1913, p. 191.

⁴ James's *Catalogue*, p. 149.

⁵ M. R. James, *Cat. of MSS. in Corpus Christi College, Camb.*, vol. ii, 1912, p. 351.

⁶ *Cat. of Additions to MSS. in Br. Mus. from 1882–1887.*

Jurisdictione et potestate Ecclesie.' Our dialogue not found in this list.

FitzRalph's Sermon, Defensio Curatorum.

- (1) **MS. at Peterhouse Library, Camb. (No. 223.)**¹
Vellum, $11 \times 7\frac{1}{2}$ in. ff. 286. 45 lines to a page. 15th cent. Contents (2): Propositio Ricardi Ardmachani Archiep.—facta in consistorio coram D. papa et cardinalibus, etc., 8 Nov. 1357. Begins: 'Nolite iudicare secundum faciem.' ff. 43 b (l. 6)—55 a (l. 5).
- (2) **MS. at Sidney Sussex College Library (64 Δ 4. 2.)**²
Paper, $11\frac{1}{8} \times 7\frac{7}{8}$ in. ff. 132. 49 and 32 lines to a page. 15th cent. Not so well written as No. 1, but in a larger hand. Contents (13): Propositio d. Armachani facta in consistorio—apud Auinionem, 8 Nov. 1357. ff. 72—87 a.
- (3) **Bodley MS. No. 144, A. 5.**
Parchment, $10\frac{7}{8} \times 8\frac{3}{4}$ in. iv + 280 leaves. Several hands of 15th cent. Begins f. 255, one line from bottom. In this MS. there are no less than 88 sermons³ delivered in various parts of England, Ireland, Scotland, and Avignon. It ends f. 271, line 23. Down to f. 266, line $13\frac{1}{2}$, written in a rather small, but plain hand. Balance in a larger hand. Much easier MS. to read than either Bodley 158 or 865.
- (4) **Bodley MS. No. 158, B. 3.**
Parchment, $10\frac{7}{8} \times 7\frac{1}{4}$ in. 1 + 224 leaves. Four separate MSS. written early in 15th cent. Contents: No. 9. Richardi Ar—. Propositio coram Papa ad Avineonem 8 Novembris 1357, super materia Mendicitatis ac Privilegiorum contra Frates. ff. 153 a—165 a (35 lines).
- (5) **Bodley MS. 865.**
 $10\frac{7}{8} \times 7\frac{3}{8}$ in. ii + 115 leaves. In Latin and Old English. Three MSS. written in 11th to 15th centuries. The sermon consists of ff. 26 b—55 a (20, 1), 29 and 30 lines to

¹ M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of MSS. in Peterhouse Library*, Camb., 1899, p. 276.

² M. R. James, *Descriptive Catalogue of MSS. in Sidney Sussex Coll.*

Lib., Camb., 1895, p. 46.

³ R. L. Poole, *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*, vol. xix, p. 195. (MS. 144 contains 88 sermons in full or in reports.)

a page. 'Proposicio—facta in consistorio coram . . . Nov. 8th, 1357, the treatise usually known as the Defensorium Curatorum, often printed.'

(6) **Corpus Christi MS. Oxford, No. CLXXXII.**¹

13 × 9½ in., 2 cols., 51 lines. Cod. Memb., fol. ff. 82. Date beg. of 13th and 15th centuries. Art. 3: Ricardi filii Radulphi, Archiep. Cantaur. sermo habitus Avinioniae VIII die mensis Novemb. A. D. 1357. Inc. istud: 'Nolite judicare secundum faciem,' etc. contra fratres. fols. 53 a (col. 1)—66 b (col. 2) 22 lines.

(7) **Magdalen College MS. Oxford, No. XXXVIII.**²

8½ × 7 in. 2 cols., 53 lines. Cod. Memb. small fol. ff. 70. Cent. XV beg. No. 19: Ricardi Radulphi Armachani, propositio facta—die mensis Novemb., Anno Domini MCCCLVII. ff. 53 b (col. 1) line 27—68 a.

(8) **Reg. MS. Oxford, No. CCCLXXX.**³

Chartaceus, in 4to, ff. 74. Time 17th cent. Six articles. No. 4: Ex Ricardi, Archiep. Armachani, Defensione curatorum. ff. 34—9.⁴

Methodius, The Beginning and the End of the World.

I. THE BRITISH MUSEUM MSS.

(1) **Royal MS. 8 F. VIII.**⁵

10¾ × 7 in. ff. 176. Contains seven articles. No. 7, Methodii Eubulii, Tyri Episcopi, Revelationes, ff. 170 a (col. 1)—172 a (col. 2). This is supposed to be the Latin MS. from which the Northern English MS. Addit. 37049 is taken. From beginning of fol. 170 a (col. 2)—fol. 172 a (col. 2) half of column corresponds very closely with the English versions. The article then continues to 176 a (col. 1) one-third of column, where it stops abruptly. The latter part has to do with Antichrist, and is found in the medieval printed books of the *Revelationes*, and also in

¹ H. O. Coxe, *Catalogus Codicum MSS. qui in Collegiis Aulisque Oxon. adservantur*, Pars ii, 1852, p. 72.

² H. O. Coxe, *Cat. Cod. MSS. Coll. Magdalenae*, p. 22.

³ H. O. Coxe, *Cat. Cod. MSS. Coll.*

Reginensis, p. 88.

⁴ This is evidently an extract only. I failed to examine this MS.

⁵ D. Casley, *Cat. of MSS. in King's Library*, 1734, p. 159.

the Greek and Latin version of *Revelationes* as printed by Grynaeus, in *Monumenta Orthodoxographa*, Greek, pp. 93-9. Latin, pp. 100-13.

(2) **MS. Additional 34018.**¹

Vellum, $9\frac{1}{4} \times 6$ in. ff. 99. 13th cent. Written very fine in double cols. 58 lines. Very many abbreviations. Our article No. 5 of the seven, headed 'S. Methodii Episcopi Patavensis liber de principio saeculi'. 946-96.

(3) **Arundel MS. 326.**²

Vellum. $6\frac{3}{4} \times 4\frac{1}{2}$ in. Single columns. 34-38 lines to a page. Early 14th cent. Small quarto, ff. 60. Meth. *Revelationes*, ff. 57-60 b (23 lines.)

(4) **Sloane MS. 289.**³

$7\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ in. Single columns, 32 lines. Contains ten articles, Methodius being No. 9. Fols. 94-102. New numbering, ff. 85-88 a (21). The text is practically the same as the three first mentioned.

II. UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE LIBRARIES.

(a) **Camb. Univ. Lib.**

(1) **No. 869 (Dd. XV. 15).**⁴

$4\frac{3}{4} \times 3\frac{1}{4}$ in. Single columns, 23 lines. 15th cent., 24 mo. 218 leaves. Written very small with many contractions. Meth. 'The beg. & End. of time', No. 2, ff. 153-61.

(2) **No. 1164 (Ff. I. 31).**⁵

13th cent. 181 leaves. Meth. 1 a-6 b. A parchment book in folio. Very plainly written.

(3) **No. 1514 (Gg. IV. 15).**⁶

Parchment, 11×7 in. 12th cent. Folio, ff. 111. 'Liber Methodii Martiris et Episcopi Ecclesie Paterensis, etc.', article No. 2, ff. 108-11.

¹ *Cat. of Additions to British Museum for 1888-1893*, pp. 163-4.

² H. L. D. Ward, *Cat. of Romances in Dept. of MSS. Br. Mus.*, i (1883), p. 246; H. Suchier, *Denkmäler Prov. Lit.* (1883), p. 166.

³ H. L. D. Ward, *Cat. of Romances*,

vol. i, p. 250; H. Suchier, *Denkmäler Prov. Lit.* (1883), p. 166.

⁴ *Cat. of MSS. in Camb. Univ. Library*, vol. i, p. 541.

⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 332.

⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. iii, p. 160.

(4) **No. 1524 (Gg. IV. 25).**¹

10 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 8 in. Single column. 34 lines. Quarto, on paper (excepting 13–17, which are on parchment). Written in various hands. 15th cent. No. 7, 'Liber Methodi Martiris', ff. 58–61 a. Many proper names underlined in red. Well written and easy to read. This and Ff. I. 31 are the two best copies in the Library.

(5) **No 2019 (Kk. IV. 4).**²

14 $\frac{4}{5}$ × 11 in. A tall thin quarto on paper (excepting f. 64 and the fly-leaves, which are on parchment). ff. 76, double columns of 53 lines. 15th cent. No. 14, ff. 75 a–76 b, 'Liber Metodii Martiri de Primo Miliario Secule'. Begins in the usual way: 'Sciendum nobis namque est fratres,' etc. In a note is added: 'This is Methodius Patarorum Episcopus, who flourished in 290. See Oudin, i. 299. This tract does not appear in the collection of his works.'

These five MSS. resemble each other very closely, and also the English version in Harl. 1900.

(b) **St. John's College Library, Cambridge.**³(1) **No. 184 (G. 16).**

Vellum, 8 $\frac{5}{8}$ × 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. ff. 322 + 5, double cols. of 41 lines. 14th cent. Contents, No. 10: Inc. liber Methodii ep. de Principio Seculi, etc. ff. 304–6 a, five lines from end. Contents, No. 11: De Antichristo, ff. 305 b–308. A note states this was printed in *Orthodoxographia*, etc., Sackur (*Sibyllinische Texte*, Halle, 1898). This copy is the same as English in MS. Harl. 1900.

(c) **Peterhouse Library, Camb.**⁴(1) **No. 45 (O. 4. 6).**

Vellum, 15 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 10 $\frac{5}{8}$ in. ff. 391, double columns of 60 lines.

¹ *Cat. of MSS.*, vol. iii, p. 69.

Press, 1913, p. 217.

² *Ibid.*, vol. iii, p. 641.

⁴ M. R. James, *A Descriptive Cat.*

³ M. R. James, *A Descriptive Cat. of MSS. in St. John's Coll.*, Camb. Univ.

of MSS. in Peterhouse Lib., Camb. Univ. Press, 1899, p. 66.

Early 13th cent. Contents, No. 2: 'In nomine Christi inc. liber Metodii', f. 383 a (col. 2)-383 b (col. 2). Very closely written, with pale ink, hard to read.

(d) Trinity College, Camb.

(1) No. 943 (R. 15, 21, 165).¹

Vellum, 10 × 7 in. ff. 6 + 31 + 82, double columns of 41 lines. 15th cent. (1408). c. 98 is from the pseudo-Methodius 'de initio et fine seculi'; c. 99, On the Ages of the World.

(2) No. 1122 (O. 2. 18).²

Vellum, 8 $\frac{5}{8}$ × 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. ff. 186, 44 lines to a page. 14th and 15th cent. Contents, on f. 4 (13) b, on the fly-leaves, is the end of the prophecy of Methodius (XV), No. 22, in a later hand. The beginning of the Methodius prophecy of which the end is on the fly-leaves, ff. 151 b-153: De creacione celi et terre et de primo miliario breviter ostendit. Sciendum namque est nobis.

(3) No. 1228 (O. 3. 51).³

This is in Greek, paper, 9 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. ff. 16 + 266 + 69. 15th and 16th cent. Contents, No. 10, ff. 28-42.

(e) Corpus Christi College, Camb.⁴

(1) No. 59 (D. 11).

(2) No. 66 (D. 12), ff. 235 b-238. Cent. XII & XIII, art. 26.

(3) No. 275 (A. 4), ff. 18-22. Cent. XV & XIII, art. 6.

(4) No. 288 (O. 11), ff. 98 b-101 b. Cent. XIV, art. 6.

(5) No. 404 (G. 5), ff. 4-7. Cent. XIV, art. 2.

A note by James tells us that these were printed in *Orthodoxographia*, and by Sackur in *Sibyllinische Text*, Halle, 1898.

¹ M. R. James, *Cat. of Western MSS. in Trin. Coll.*, Camb. Univ. Press, 1900-1904. 4 vols. Vol. ii, p. 358.

² James, vol. iii, p. 106.

³ James, vol. iii, p. 236.

⁴ M. R. James, *Cat. of MSS. in Corpus Christi Coll.*, Camb., 2 vols., 1907-1908.

III. OXFORD UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES.

(a) St. John's College.¹

(1) No. CXXVIII.

9 × 5½ in. Single columns, 31 lines. Cod. Memb. Small folio, ff. 237. 11th cent. beg. Ten articles. Ours is No. 9, occupying ff. 217 b–223. Incip. 'Sciendum namque est nobis', etc. An excellent copy, although belonging to 11th cent.

(2) No. CXXXV.

Cod. Memb. 4to, ff. 57. 15th cent. Ours is the second of two articles in the MS. S. Methodii, episcopi Paterensis, et Martyris, 'de initio seculi et fine, de creatione caeli et terrae'. fol. 48 b.

(3) No. CLXXXII.

7¾ × 5 in. Single columns, 20 lines. Memb. 4to, ff. 148. 15th cent. Ten articles. Ours is No. 9, ff. 126 b (line 6)–136 a (line 13). This copy contains more than the others. A different copy with added material.

(b) Corpus Christi College.²

No. CCCXXX.

8¾ × 6½ in., 2 columns, 27 lines. Cod. Chart. and Memb. ff. 163. 17th and 15th cents. Art. 3, Liber Methodii, ff. 159 a (col. 1, line 22)–163 b (col. 1, line 15). Written large and very readable. In a note 'cf. opera in Bibl., ed. Galland, tom. iii, p. 798'.

(c) Trinity College.³

No. III.

6¾ × 4¾ in. Single columns, 25 lines. Cod. Memb. Small 4to. ff. 305. 15th cent. Contains four articles. No. 2, Methodii, etc., ff. 246 b–53 a (11½ lines). Few contractions, beautifully written.

¹ H. O. Coxe, *Cat. Codicum MSS.* (3) p. 61.

qui in Coll. Aulisque Oxon. adservantur, 1852. 2 pars. (1) p. 39; (2) p. 41;

² H. O. Coxe, *Catalogue, etc.*, p. 174.

³ H. O. Coxe, *Catalogue*, p. 1.

(d) Lincoln College.¹**No. E. XXVIII.**

8 × 4½ in. Double cols., very narrow, 24 lines. Cod. Memb. in small 4to. ff. 108. 15th cent. Contains fourteen articles. No. 6, Methodii Patarensis libellus, etc., ff. 43 b (col. 2, line 14)–51 b (col. 2, line 7). A very readable MS.

(e) Magdalen College.²**No. LIII.**

9½ × 6 in. 48 lines on a page. Cod. Memb. 4to. ff. 165. 12th, 13th, and 14th cents. Contains thirty-one articles. No. 15, Liber Methodii, episcopi Patarensis, etc., pp. 207–11 (28½ lines).

(f) Merton College.³**No. XIII.**

Cod. Memb. Folio. ff. 239, double cols. 14th and 15th cents. Contains fifty-seven articles. Art. 13, Liber et historia 'Metodii', episcopi, etc., ff. 53 b (col. 1, last three lines)–55 a (col. 1, line 26).

(g) University College.⁴**No. E. XCIX.**

8½ × 6 in. Single col., 34 lines. Cod. Chart. 4to. ff. 170. 15th cent. Contains nine articles. No. 5, Methodii, episcopi Patarensis, etc., pp. 238 b (line 3)–250 b (line 15).

(h) Bodleian Library.

The following are excellent copies. I give them as they appear in the 1697 Catalogue of MSS.

(1) MS. 722, Art. 3. Now numbered Laud Gr. 27.

This is one of the best Greek MSS. Size, 8½ × 6 in. fols. 8–23.

¹ H. O. Coxe, *Catalogue*, p. 27.
(Now deposited in Bodley.)

² H. O. Coxe, *Catalogue*, p. 32.

³ H. O. Coxe, *Catalogue*, p. 8.

⁴ H. O. Coxe, *Catalogue*, p. 30.
(Now in Bodley.)

- (2) **MS. 1021** in Cat. of 1697. Now **Laud Misc. 270**, Art. No. 2.
- (3) **MS. 2016** in Cat. of 1697. Now **Bodl. 163**. Described in 1912 Cat., p. 164. Lat. parchment, two MSS. written late in 11th and 12th cents.
- (4) **MS. 2746** in Cat. of 1697, p. 147. Now **Bodl. 867**. New Cat., p. 525. Lat. parchment, early 15th cent., in several hands. Begins f. 299 a at line 13, ends f. 301 at 34th line. On examination this was found to be identical with Harl. 1900.
- (5) **MS. 3650** in Cat. of 1697, p. 175. Now **62 Musaeo** (unprinted New Cat.), f. 135 b (col. 1, 2 lines)–f. 137 b. Like Engl. Harl. 1900. Not finished.
- (6) **MS. 10394** (New Catalogue). Now **MS. Sancroft 93**. Late MS., first half of 17th cent. Written in Gk. and Lat., on paper. 108 b–111 a, Methodii. Patarensis Revelationes, a brief extract.
- (7) **MS. 14732** (New Catalogue, p. 338). Now **MS. Rawlinson Poet. 241**. In Fr. and Lat. on parchment, written second part of 13th cent. in England. No. 6, pp. 189–195 a, ‘In Nomine Christi incipit liber Metodii... id est De Principio seculi.’ This is fully described by E. Stengel in the *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Litteratur*, Bd. xiv, p. 128 (1892).

C. THE ENGLISH PRINTED EDITION OF THE DIALOGUE.

The *Dialogue* was printed in English in the sixteenth century. This sixteenth-century text is printed in parallel columns in this edition. C. L. Kingsford, in his article on Trevisa in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, writes: ‘Dr. Babington ascribes to Trevisa the translation of the “Dialogue inter Militem et Clericum de potestate ecclesiastica et civile” (a Latin tract inaccurately attributed to William Ockham), which was published at London in 1540.’¹ R. L. Poole, in his article on Ockham, says: ‘Ockham’s political writings have all been

¹ *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. lvii, p. 213.

enumerated in his biography. To them is usually added a "Disputatio inter militem et clericum" on the civil and ecclesiastical powers (printed by Goldast i. 13 ff.), which was translated into English in the sixteenth century, and twice published by Berthelet (2nd ed., 1540), but Dr. Riezler has shown (pp. 144-8) that it is not by Ockham, but probably by Pierre du Bois.¹

In the British Museum Catalogue under 'Clericus' appears: 'A Dialogue betwene a Knyght and a Clerke, concerning the power spiritual and temporal (A translation of the "Dialogus inter clericum et militem" of Gulielmus de Occam). T. Berthelet; London (1533). Catalogue number C. 12. c. 24.

This book contains 26 folios. Size, $5 \times 3\frac{1}{4}$ in.; print, $4 \times 2\frac{1}{3}$ in., 25 lines to a page. The *Dialogue* begins in fol. 2 a. On fol. 1 a we find: 'A Dialogue betwene a Knight and a clerke concernynge the power spiritual and temporall.' There are catchwords on each page, thirty unprinted leaves at the end.

A second copy is found in Cambridge University Library, catalogued under the number Syn. 8. 54. 52^s; without title and date. In the Catalogue the date is given (about 1540), printed by T. Berthelet. On the blank folio is written in ink: 'A Dialogue between Miles & Clericus touching the Popes power in temporalls.' In pencil is written:

'By W. of Ockham
Herbert Ames
p. 460.'

This is the same edition as that in the British Museum, but is bound up in a book with other articles. On a leaf at the beginning of this book is written 'Pasguyle The Playne, Anno MDXL'. Below in the lower margin of ornaments is the date '1534'. The contents are given on the first page over the signature of Robb. Ghibbon 1683. They are:

- (1) Pasguyle the Playne, by Thos. Eliot, Knight to the Gentle Reder. Printed by Berthelet, 1540.
- (2) Confession of the Church of Scotland. Printed at London by Rowland Hall, 1561.

¹ *Dictionary of National Biography*, *literarischen Widersacher der Päpste zur* vol. xli, p. 362; S. Riezler, *Die Zeit Ludwig des Baiers*, Leipzig, 1874.

- (3) Clericus. No author, no date. Printed by Berthelet.
- (4) A short description of Antichrist. No author, no date.
- (5) A wonderful prophecie for MDCXXXI.
- (6) A Treatise against Magical Sermons, by Francis Gore.
- (7) Epistle of Henry VIII.

In St. John's College, Cambridge (A. 3. 15²) is another copy, printed by Berthelet. No author, no date. In the Catalogue the date is given (1555?). It is the second article in a book containing seven other articles. Another copy is to be found in the same library indexed (EE. 13. 30¹¹), giving no author or date. The Catalogue gives the date 1540. It is bound up with a number of other 'tracts', to which there is no index.

Reference is made to this book in Ames's *Typographical Antiquities*:¹ 'A Dialogue between a Knyght & a Clerke, concerning the power spiritual & temporal, 26 leaves, written² (in Latin)² by W. Ockham, 1305. ³ See the *British Librarian*, p. 5.³

On a blank leaf just before p. 171, where the list of books printed by Berthelet begins, the following is written :

'1540—A Dialogue betwene a knight and a clerk, concerning the power spiritual & temporal By Wm. of Oeccham, a great philosopher. In English and Latin. See the Br. Librarian, p. 5, where mention is made of its being printed this year; and as T. Berthelet printed the former edition without date, I presume he might print this also. p. W. H.

W. H. = Wm. Herbert.'

This is Herbert's note, as he came into possession of Ames's material, and worked on it years before he brought out his edition of the *Antiquities* in three volumes, 1785, 1786, and 1790.

In vol. i. p. 437, he has a reference similar to his note in Ames's original, as printed above; 'Pr. by Thomas Berthelet, A dialogue betwene a knyght and a clerke, concerning the power spiritual & temporal, by Wm. Occam, the great philosopher, in English & Latin. also without date'; and in the next line below is written '1540, octavo'. In a foot-note, 'See

¹ Joseph Ames, *Typographical Antiquities*, London, 1749, p. 176.

²⁻² Written in ink above the line.

³⁻³ Written in margin in ink.

the *British Librarian*, p. 5, note, & Fox's *Martyrs*, vol. i, p. 510, Ed. 1641.'

Thos. F. Dibdin, in his edition of the *Antiquities* in 4 vols., 1810-19, reproduces the previous references of Herbert in vol. iii, p. 311, under No. 1230. Also in vol. iii, p. 345, he has the following notice. I give it because of his note :

'Pr. by Thos. Berthelet.

No. 1322 : Dialogue. Duodecimo.

A Dialogue between a Knyght and a Clerke concernynge the power spiritual and temporal. In a neat architectiv compartment as to Fitzherbert's Surveying, 1555. The whole on 26 leaves.

Imprinted in Fleetstrete in the house of . . . nere to the condite at the sygne of Lucrece, Cum Privilegio. See it in 1540. In Herbert's Coll.

Note. My copy has in MS. "written by Wm. Ockam in the year mcccv. Prohibetur, saith Pits, p. 458. Extat Latin in Goldast's *Monarchia*, vol. i, p. 358, No. 40, Herbert."

The *Dialogue* is also referred to in Andrew Maunsell's *Catalogue of English Printed Books*, London, 1595, p. 112, thus : 'Against the Pope's Supremacy A Dialogue between a Knight and a Clerke, concerning the power Spirituall and Temporall. Printed by Thos. Berthelet.'

In the *British Librarian* (Lond. 1738, pp. 5-10) William Oldys gives a fairly full outline of this work. It is prefaced by the following notice :

'A Dialogue betwene a Knyght and a Clerke concernynge the power Spiritual and Temporall. Imprinted at London in Flete Strete, in the House of Tho. Berthelet, near the condite at the sign of Lucrece : cum Privilegio ; without date or name of the author. 52 pages. 8vo.'

Then follows the object of the dialogue :

'This notable little tract was written to silence the clergy, and answer their unreasonable expectations, and the Pope might exercise a Jurisdiction over the Temporalities of Princes, and the church be exempted from contributing of its riches in time of need, either for the Relief of the poor or the security of the Nation where they abide ; as may appear by the following abstract thereof.'

Here follows a digest of over 1,500 words.

In the note, p. 5 of this article, referred to by Herbert and Dibdin, the writer speaks of the author and date: 'And tho the Author's name was not yet published to it, it is well known to have been written by that famous clerk and schoolman William of Occham. It was written by our author so early as the year 1305, if the MS. Note on the copy before me is right.' He also mentions another edition of it in 1540, 'wherein it is said to be written by William of Occham, the great philosopher in English and Latin (Extat Lat. in Goldast's *Monarchia* T. Ed.).' Reference is also made in this note to Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*, ed. 1576, fol. 376, where he speaks of Gulielmus Occham 'as a worthy Divine and a right sincere Judgment, as the times would then either give or suffer'. Also in fol. 393 Foxe mentions the Dialogue as of Occham's writing, 'tho' it appeared without the name of the author'.

Relation of the Printed Edition to the English Manuscripts.

A careful comparison of the original Latin and the Trevisa MSS. with the printed edition leads conclusively to the following results:

- A. That the printed edition is Trevisa's translation.
- B. (1) That this edition has been revised by its editor from one of the Trevisa MSS. in our possession, with the help of the Latin original, *or*
- (2) That it is a copy of an original Trevisa MS. which is not now in existence.

A. *A Trevisa Translation.*

That the printed edition is a translation of Trevisa is evident from the following:

(a) There are many passages, sometimes two or three sentences, in the Pr. edition, exactly identical with the MSS. Very often these are very free translations of the Latin. Only a few examples are here given. The reader may test this for himself by comparing the Tr. MSS. with the Pr. in the text:

- (1) 1. First Speech of Clericus.
- (2) 2/12. Speech of Miles beg. 'what þei ordeyneþ' etc.—closing with 'vppon þe Kyngdom of England'.

- (3) 4/10. A trewe cristen man. Lat. Christianus.
 - (4) 4/4-7. Beg. but ȝif hit may be schewide . . . spirituale.
 - (5) 6/2. twey diuerse tymes of crist. Lat. duo tempora in Christo.
 - (6) 10/2. Sentence beg. 'And ȝif ȝe wollep ȝett stryue etc.' l. 5, ȝoure strifschal not turne ȝow to worship atte laste. Lat. forsā ista pertinacia non erit in fine vobis gratioſa.
 - (7) 11/1. Tr. þanne it is soþe. Pr. for it is sothe. Lat. tenendum est igitur.
 - (8) 11/14. Lat. ergo etiam ratione peccati papa de sanguine iudicare. Tr. = Pr. þerfore bycause of synne þat siche men dop þe pope schal deme and be domesman? In cause of felony & of mannes dep.
 - (9) 16/10. Lat. quam homo mortalis. Tr. = Pr. in þat þat he was man y-schape for to dye.
 - (10) 17/10. Lat. utique operatiis & stipendiariis. Tr. = Pr. to werk men, to hyred men, to oxen & nouȝt to kynges.
 - (11) 22/10. Lat. regis religio. Tr. = Pr. þe good entent of þe kyng.
 - (12) 23/16. Lat. quod de bonis Ecclesie secum tollunt. Tr. = Pr. takip to, hem of holy chirche (Pr. churches) goodes & catel.
 - (13) 25/9. Lat. cogere mini omnibus seruire. Tr. = Pr. compelle ȝou to be þralles.
 - (14) 26/8. Lat. comedere splendide, iucunde bibere. Tr. = Pr. etc. & drynke wiþ grete solace & myrþe.
 - (15) 33/2. Lat. super orbem terrarum. Tr. = Pr. þe Emperour of his empire & þe kyng of his kyngdom.
- (b) Certain Latin words are translated by two, sometimes three words. The words in Pr. are usually the same as in Tr. This coupling of words is one of Trevisa's characteristics :
- (1) 4/5. Lat. quia non constat eum super temporalibus vestris dominium accepisse. Tr. = Pr. ffor ȝe knowep nouȝt þat he hap lordschipe, power & auctorite vppon ȝoure temporalte (Pr. temporalties).
 - (2) 5/14. Lat. de vestris temporalibus statuere posse. Tr. = Pr. may ordeyne & make statutes of ȝoure temporalte.
 - (3) 6/3. Lat. alterum potestatis. Tr. = Pr. and anoþer of his power & mageste.
 - (4) 8/9. Lat. non ad temporale seu dominium assumptum. Tr. = Pr. & nouȝt in temporal lordschipe of casteles & of londes.
 - (5) 10/13. Lat. tollere principatus & regna. Tr. = Pr. þat he may take of princes & of kynges principates & kyngdoms.

- (6) 11/8. Lat. cognosceat de justo & iniusto. Tr. = Pr. schal knowe & deme of riȝtful & vnriȝtful.
- (7) 11/10. Lat. debeat iudicare. Tr. = Pr. þe pope schal deme & rule.
- (8) 12/12. Lat. in iudicio temporalium. Tr. = Pr. in knowleche & demynge of temporalte.
- (9) 13/3. Lat. lacerata est lex. Tr. = Pr. þe lawe is y-tore and to-rent.
- (10) 13/12. Lat. vestra cognitio. Tr. = Pr. ȝoure knowleche & ȝoure dome.
- (11) 13/13. Lat. accedere debet. Tr. = Pr. schal refreyne & chastee.
- (12) 14/7. Lat. per sententiam iuris. Tr. = Pr. by sentence & dome of lawe.
- (13) 14/8. Lat. aut euidenciam sceleris. Tr. = Pr. oper by open euydence & knowleche of þe trespass.
- (14) 14/15. Lat. cognoscere de causa matrimonii. Tr. = Pr. to know & to deme in cause of matrimonye & of wedlock.
- (15) 15/12. Lat. & saepe firmari possit regalibus instrumentis. Tr. = Pr. & schal be preued oper dispreued by preues oper dispreues of þe kynges lawe.
- (16) 15/14. Lat. in cognitione. Tr. = Pr. in dome & in knowleche.
- (17) 16/1. Lat. de haereditate iudicare. Tr. = Pr. to deme & dele heritage.
- (18) 16/6. Lat. debet regere. Tr. = Pr. schal gouerne & rule.
- (19) 23/13. Lat. vestram violentiam. Tr. = Pr. ȝoure violence & ȝoure wrong.
- (20) 24/10. Lat. & bonorum vestrorum. Tr. = Pr. & of ȝoure owne godes and catel.
- (21) 24/14. Lat. non perstrepite. Tr. = Pr. y pray ȝou leteþ be ȝoure noyse & ȝoure grucchyng.
- (22) 26/2. Lat. sic estis nunc in vestris profectibus querulosi. Tr. = Pr. & so now ȝe playneþ & grucchiþ in ȝoure owne profit.
- (23) 28/9, 29/5. Lat. materiali. Tr. = Pr. of lyme & of stooness.
- (24) 28/14. Lat. salus. Tr. = Pr. helpe & sauacioun.
- (25) 33/14. Lat. principum. Tr. of princes & of kynges. Pr. = kinges & princes.

(c) A number of short passages found in Tr. and Pr. which do not appear in the Latin original:

- (1) 4/12. Whole sentence quoted beg.: 'axe of me' given in Tr. & Pr., but only the first part is given in Latin, viz. postula a me & dabo tibi gentes.

- (2) 8/3, wolde have made hym kyng.
- (3) 10/4, after his resurreccioun.
- (4) 12/13, in what þat longeþ to temporalte.
- (5) 13/15, whanne he seiþ euereche soule, hit semeþ þat noon is out take (Pr. = excepted).
- (6) 14/17, for þe knytinge of þe dede.
- (7) 17/13, and of þe spirituale.
- (8) 20/11, beg. 'for þe whiche'. Tr. & Pr. nearly the same.
- (9) 20/15, while 3e recchiþ. 21/4, holy entent. 24/1, grete selandre. 21/6, god almyȝty.

(d) A few phrases are found in Tr. and Pr., but are different in Latin :

- (1) 3/1. Lat. super regnum Franciae. Tr. = Pr. vppon þe Kyngdom of Engelond.
- (2) 15/1. Lat. ego vado Paduæ. Tr. = Pr. lo ich go into ȝoure cuntraye.
- (3) 15/7. Lat. ducatum Burgundiae. Tr. = Pr. a ducherye.

(e) Passages not found in all the Tr. MSS., but where the Pr. agrees with the Latin :

- (1) 5/4. Lat. quia Christianus sum & esse volo. Pr. = S. for he may not be wiþ-seide in no maner wise. (The other Tr. MSS. omit 'not' in 'may not'.)
- (2) 8/6. Lat. quod procul a vobis sit. Pr. but god forbydde that they shulde so now (*om.* in H, but with slight variation found in the other Tr. MSS.).
- (3) 11/6, after 'Miles'. Lat. hoc absit, nam qui hoc negauerit, poenitentiam & confessionem abnegabit. Pr. = other Tr. MSS. except H, but god hit forbydde for who þat denyeþ þat denyeþ.
- (4) 23/7. Lat. ne animas mortuorum salutemque viuorum defrauderis. Pr. that ye begyle not and deceyue the quyke and the deed. (C only Tr. MS. similar to Pr.)—þat 3e bigile not þe quyke and þe dede. (Other Tr. MSS. omit 'not' after 'bigile'.)
- (5) 34/1, after 'nede', passage *om.* in H, but found in other Tr. MSS. and agrees with Lat. & Pr. Lat. nam & irridet scripturam vestram praescriptionem, cum a Salomone vsque ad Ioas & a Ioas vsque ad Ezechielem non legitur esse factum quod tamen Ezechiel perfecit (for English of Pr. & MSS. see text, p. 34).
- (6) 35/1, after 'comynthe', S similar to Pr. & Lat. Not in other Tr. MSS.
- (7) 35/8, after 'nede', S similar to Pr. & Lat. Not in other Tr. MSS.

B (1). *An Editor's Revision.*

That the printed edition is a revision of one of the Trevisa MSS. with the help of the Latin original is evident from the following :

(a) Certain passages are found in Lat. & Pr., but not in the Tr. MSS. :

- (1) 2/2. Lat. si nostra bono non damus. Pr. if we gyue not oure goodes. Tr. ȝif we ȝeueþ nouȝt.
- (2) 2/8. Lat. iniurias innumeras. Pr. innumerable wrongs. Tr. wrong.
- (3) 3/5, after 'auctorite'. Pr. beg. 'wherefor it is a thyng in vayne' etc. to end of sentence.
- (4) 3/10, after 'whanne he hap y-write'. Lat. sic totum erit vestrum. Pr. and so all thyng shall be yours.
- (5) 5/1, after 'wordes'. Lat. nec nos ea scripsimus, sed ea misit Dominus & spiritus sanctus dictauit. Pr. nor we wrote them not, but god sente them, and the holy gooste spake them.
- (6) 7/12, after 'erpe'. Lat. quia illa nobis necessaria sunt. Pr. for these thynges are necessary for us.
- (7) 8/6, after 'kyngdom of heuene'. Lat. constat. Pr. also it is euydent & playne.
- (8) 9/12, after 'first state'. Lat. sic patuit. Pr. it is playne.
- (9) 10/16, one sentence after '& he dide so to ȝow'. Lat. = Pr.
- (10) 11/12, after 'is riȝt nouȝt'. Lat. = Pr.
- (11) 11/14, after 'vnriȝtful'. Lat. & peccatum etiam. Pr. and also synne.
- (12) 15/2, after 'is eyr perof'. Lat. videtis quod ratione matrimonii. Pr. ye see that by reason of matrimonye.
- (13) 15/13, after 'kynges lawe'. Lat. = Pr. sentence beg. and for so moch.
- (14) 18/12, after 'primat'. Lat. = Pr. for as the power — confounded.
- (15) 21/11, after 'plesyng'. Lat. coram Domino. Pr. to oure lorde.
- (16) 22/9, after 'goddess hous'. Lat. = Pr. and þey gaue hit — goddess hous.
- (17) 36/1, after 'goddess lawe'. Pr. beg. Cleri. The emperours 35/27 . . . be subiecte to the realme 36/26. The Pr. is a literal trans. of Latin.

(b) Passages in which Pr. is more literal than Tr. :

- (1) 1, first speech of Miles. Tr. translates briefly, but Pr. is full and very close to Latin.

- (2) 6/2. Tr. oon of his manhed. Pr. one of his humililate.
Lat. alterum humilitatis.
- (3) 9/5. Tr. & serue mete bordes & gouerne temperalte. Pr.
& serue meate, bourdes, that is to saye, to dispose
temporall thyngs. Lat. ministrare mensae: id est
temporalibus dispensandis.
- (4) 11/12. Tr. þis argument is riȝt nouȝt. Pr. this is a forked
argument. Lat. argumentum istud cornutum est.
- (5) 13/5. Tr. riȝt wisnesse. Pr. ryghtful dome and iustyce.
Lat. iustitiam & iudicium.
- (6) 13/15. Tr. to þe over power. Pr. to the hyghe powers.
Lat. potestatibus sublimioribus.
- (7) 18/11. Tr. þe kynges prest. Pr. my priest. Lat. meus
sacerdos.
- (8) 19/10. Tr. ȝe stireþ me & wakip me as hit were of my
sleep. Pr. ye awake the slepyng dogge. Lat. vos
exercitatis canem dormientem.
- (9) 22/8. Tr. & helde out & tolde þe money. Pr. and
poured oute and tolde the money. Lat. effundebant-
que & numerabant pecuniam.
- (10) 23/10. Tr. in chiuellrie. Pr. on your busy and unruly
souldiers, and on shippes and ingins of warre. Lat.
sed militares tumultus & bellicosas classes.
- (11) 27/13. Tr. þat he hymself had do pere. Tr. that he
hymselfe had there stycked up. Lat. quas ipse
affixerat.
- (12) 31/6. Tr. tribute. Pr. the tribute or dragme. Lat.
census siue didrachma.

There are other passages, longer than these listed, where Pr. gives a literal translation, while Tr. is frequently incorrect, and very free.

(c) In the printed text the Biblical allusions are filled in and completed. Very often Trevisa differs from the Latin in the number of the chapter. Again, he is careless about giving the chapter number. These faults are remedied in the printed text. In nearly every case the printed agrees with the Latin. In one instance 21/10, Pr. = Lat. 2 Paral. 14 cap., which is corrected by Tr. to 2 Paral. 24^o. 9/1. Lat. & Tr. give reference Luce. Pr. corrects this to Jo. 18 and Matt. 20. These, however, are exceptions. Usually Pr. has corrected Tr. to agree with the Latin. (The complete corrections will be found in the notes.)

(d) The printed edition omits Trevisa's note, pp. 6-7, on the nature of Christ's power and majesty.

(e) The printed edition gives a completed and finished ending to the *Dialogue*.

B (2). *The Dialogue as printed is from a copy of an original Trevisa MS.*

All the evidence given above under B (1) *a, b, c*, and *c* would also go to show that the editor or printer of the printed edition had a manuscript copy of the *Dialogue* much closer to Trevisa's original translation than our five MSS. If this be so our MSS. must be later mutilated copies. Why did the scribe in the MS. from which the printed copy is taken leave out the Trevisa note? The absence of this note seems to point to an editor's revision.

D. LATIN PRINTED EDITIONS.

The Dialogue.

1. 1470? Cologne. Printed by U. Zell. 4to. Without title-page, pagination, or catchwords; 16 leaves, 26 lines to a page. This edition contains a brief compendium concerning the nature of Antichrist.
2. 1475. Cologne, a second edition. 4to.
3. 1480? Vienna. Pr. by Johannes Salidi. 4to. 17 printed leaves, without title-page, pagination, or catchwords. 26 lines.
4. 1485? Ulm. 4to. 14 pages. Has section on Antichrist.
5. 1490? Augsburg. Pr. by J. Froeschauer. 4to. 12 leaves with no pagination. Contains account of Antichrist.
6. 1490? Colonie. Pr. by Henricum Quentell. Account of Antichrist at end. Two copies in British Museum.
7. 1491. Deventer. Pr. by R. Paffroet. 4to. 9 leaves, 37 or 38 lines. No pagination or catchwords. Contains account of Antichrist.
8. 1495? Colonie. Pr. by Henricum Quentell. 4to.
9. 1531? Londini. Pr. by Thome Bertheleti. *Disputatio inter Clericum et Militem . . . sub forma Dialogi* (Gulielmus de Occam).

10. 1609. Argentorati. Pr. by S. Schardius in *Syntagma Tractatum de Imperiali Jurisdictione*. 172 i. 1.
11. 1612-14. Hanover. 3 vols. Melchior Goldast, *Monarchia S. Romani Imperii*. (*Dialogue*, vol. i, pp. 13-18.)

The Sermon.

1. 1475? Louvain. 34 leaves, 30 lines to a page. No title-page, pagination, or catchwords.
2. 1480? Louvain. 26 leaves, 33 lines to a page.
3. 1485. Rouen. 50 leaves, 23 lines, without pagination. (Two copies in Br. Mus.)
4. 1495. Paris. Pr. by Ant. Caillant. 47 pages, 34 lines to a page. (Camb. Univ. Lib.)
5. 1496. Lyons. Pr. by J. Trechsel. 28 leaves, in double cols. 55 lines, no pagination. (Two copies in Br. Mus.)
6. 1496. Lugduno. Pr. by Marco Alexandro Beneventano. (Bodl. Library.)
7. 1500? Paris. Pr. by A. Cayllant. 27 leaves, 34 lines to a page. No pagination.
8. 1535. Coloniae. By O. Gratius. 1690, London, ed. Edward Brown. 2 Tom. *Fasciculus rerum expetendarum et fugiendarum*. (*Sermon* in vol. ii, pp. 466-86.)
9. 1612-14. Hanover. 3 vols. Melchior Goldast, *Monarchia S. Romani Imperii*. (*Sermon*, vol. ii, pp. 1392-1410.)
10. 1625. Paris. Pr. by Joan Libert. (Two copies in Bodl. Library; one, 136 pages, bound up with a number of other articles in Latin and Greek; the other bound alone, same number of pages, same date and printer.)
11. 1633. Paris. Pr. by Petrum Billaine. 8vo. (Two copies in Br. Mus.)

Methodius.

1. 1470? *Revelationes*. Pr. by Bonaventure. 4to.
2. 1490? Memmingen. By Albert Kunne. Edition of *Revelationes*.
3. 1496. Augsburg. Pr. by Johannes Froschauer. 4to. (Three copies in Br. Mus. A few MS. notes.)
4. 1498. Basilee. Pr. by M. Furter. 4to. Ed. by S. Brant. 68 pages, without pagination.

5. 1504. Basilee. Pr. by M. Furter (also in 1514 and 1515).
Ed. with a preface by S. Brant. 4to. (All copies in
Br. Mus.)
6. 1555. Basileae. Pr. by Johann Heroldt, *Orthodoxographa
Theologia Sacro Sanctae ac Syncerioris Fidei Doctores
numero LXXVII.*
7. 1569. Basileae. J. J. Grynæus, *Monumenta S. Patrum
Orthodoxographa, etc.* (*Revelationes* in Greek, vol. i,
pp. 93-100. Latin, pp. 100-13.) 3 vols.
8. 1618-22. Coloniae Agrippinae. Ed. Margarinus de la
Bigne; *Magna Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum, et Antiquorum
Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum.* 15 tom.
9. 1654. Paris. Ed. by M. de la Bigne, *Magna Bibliotheca,
etc.* 17 tom.
10. 1677. Lugduni. Genuae. Ed. M. de la Bigne, *Magna
Bibliotheca, etc.* 28 tom. (*Revelationes*, tom. 3,
pp. 727-34.)

PART II

TREVISA'S LIFE AND WORKS.

It shall be my aim in these notes to put into condensed form some of the things written about Trevisa, the present known facts in regard to his life and work, and one or two discoveries that have been made during the course of this investigation. I regret that I have not been able to get at all the possible sources, that I was not able to go to Cornwall to examine the muniments at Castle Horneck, Pentillie Castle, and Mount Edgcumbe.¹ The Charters and Muniments of Berkeley Castle,² where Trevisa spent most of his life, were not examined.

¹ In a letter dated June 3, 1915, Mr. P. E. B. Porter, The Hermitage, Saltash, Cornwall, wrote me that in a recent interview Lord Mount Edgcumbe told him that the Edgcumbe MSS. had recently been noted and classified. There was

no reference to Trevisa.

² The MSS. at Berkeley were catalogued by Mr. J. H. Jeayes in 1892. Lord Fitzhardinge's secretary, May 31, 1915, wrote me that this catalogue is complete.

I was greatly aided in this search by the suggestions of noted Cornish antiquarians. They all think that careful search will reveal new information in regard to Trevisa's life.

The known facts about Trevisa are that he belonged to a Cornish family, he was a student at Oxford, was Vicar of Berkeley, and while there translated certain works from Latin into English.

A. TREVISA'S LIFE.

The notes on Trevisa's life group themselves around :

- (1) The place and date of his birth.
- (2) Oxford days.
- (3) His life at Berkeley.

I. Place and Date of his Birth.

No records thus far have come to hand giving us the exact place and date of his birth. Most of his biographies mention Crocadon or Caradok, Cornwall, as his birthplace. Later writers give the date of his birth as well. These dates run from 1322 to 1342.

Bale¹ and Pits² mention Cornwall only, while Tanner,³ Fuller,⁴ Carew,⁵ Townley,⁶ and Sir John MacLean⁷ speak of his birthplace as Caradok or Crocadon, without giving the date.

Gilbert⁸ says: 'In 13— was born at Crocadon, in the parish of St. Mellion, near Saltash, John Trevisa, who was educated

¹ John Bale, *Scriptorum Illustrum Majoris Brit. Cat.*, Bale, 1559, p. 518 (genere ac patria Cornubiensis).

² Joannis Pitsei, *De Illustribus Angliæ Scriptoribus*, Paris, 1619, No. 724 (Patria Cornubiensis).

³ Thomas Tanner, *Bibl. Britannico-Hibernico*, London, 1748, p. 720 (Patria Cornubiensis apud Caradok natus).

⁴ Thomas Fuller, *Worthies of England*, 2 vols., 1622, ed. 1811, vol. i, p. 217 (born at Caradok in Cornwall); id., *The Church History of Britain*, London, 1655, Bk. IV, p. 151 (born at Crocadon in Cornwall).

⁵ Richard Carew, *Survey of Cornwall*, ed. 1602, 1769, 1811 . . . p. 269 (Crocadon is the mansion of Charles Trevisa, Esq., descended from John Trevisa, born in this place, as I am informed, bred at Oxford).

⁶ Rev. Jas. Townley, *Illustrations of Bibl. Lit.*, 1821, vol. ii, pp. 49-55 (born at Caradoc in Co. of Cornwall).

⁷ Sir John MacLean, *The Lives of the Berkeleys* (The Berkeley MSS.), by John Smyth of Nibley, 3 vols., 1883, vol. i, p. 343.

⁸ C. S. Gilbert, *Historical Survey of the Co. of Cornwall*, 2 vols., 1817, p. 128, vol. i.

at Oxford &c.' Rogers¹ quotes Carew: 'John de Trevisa was born according to our county historian, Carew, at Crocadon, near Saltash (Carew's *Cornwall*, ed. 1811, p. 269) &c. in the year 1342.' Boase and Courtney:² 'Born at Crocadon in St. Mellion 1326.' Cooke³ places his birth at Crocadon, in the parish of St. Mellion, near Saltash about 1322. C. W. Boase gives the date 1342.⁴ Hals⁵ says he was born in Gloucestershire, giving Baker as his authority.

Crocadon was situated in the parish of St. Mellion in Hundred of East. An adjoining parish was St. Enedor, in Hundred of Pyder, in which was situated Trevisa, or Tre-wisa.⁶ Carew⁷ speaks of Crocadon as a district near Halton and Cultayle (Calstock), describing it thus: 'Upon the top of a creek herby lyeth Crocadon, the mansion of M. Trevisa, a Gent. deriving himself from the ancient and wel deserving chronicle of that name: he beareth G., a garbe, O.' Hals in his note gives us the meaning of the word, which agrees with Carew: 'Croca-don, or Crocadon, Cruco-don, words signifying bank, hillock or tumulus, hill or town, a place noticeable for banners.'

There is evidence that this Crocadon, near Saltash, was the family seat of the Trevisas, at least through the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and up to the beginning of the eighteenth, but this evidence does not go back far enough for our present study.

The earliest marriage in the Trevisa family recorded by Vivian was in 1596, December 1, between John Trevisa of St. Mellion and Margaret Courtney of Lazacke.⁸ Many marriages

¹ John J. Rogers, *Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall*, No. XI, April 1870, pp. 147 ff.

² G. C. Boase and W. P. Courtney, *Bibl. Cornubiensis*, 3 vols., 1874-82, vol. ii, p. 795.

³ Jas. Herbert Cooke, *Trans. of Bristol and Gloucester Arch. Soc.*, 1876, vol. i, p. 138.

⁴ Rev. C. W. Boase, *Registrum Collegii Exoniensis* (Ox. Hist. Soc.), Clarendon Press, 1894, p. 11.

⁵ Wm. Hals, *Parochial Hist. of Cornwall*, 4 vols. 1867-72 (ed. Jos.

Polsue), vol. i, p. 339; vol. iii, p. 309.

⁶ Hals, *Parochial Hist. of Cornwall*, vol. i, p. 339; vol. iii, p. 305; Daniels and Collins, *History of Cornwall*, p. 419; John Norden, *A Typographical Hist. Des. of Cornwall*, London, 1728, p. 92.

⁷ Carew, *Survey of Cornwall*, ed. 1602, p. 114.

⁸ Col. J. L. Vivian, *The Marriage Licences of the Diocese of Exeter*, 1887, p. 12.

of the Trevisas of St. Erth and St. Mellion are recorded in the seventeenth century.

We get no help concerning John Trevisa and his ancestry from the parish registers of Cornwall, as the earliest begins in 1539.

The best evidence we have that Trevisas lived at Crocadon, at or near the time of our Trevisa's birth, is given by Vivian in his *Visitations of Cornwall*.¹ The earliest date he gives in his genealogical table is 1598. This is, however, the death of a Trevisa of the third generation in his list. The first of this table is here given:

Arms: Gu. a garb O.		<i>Trevisa</i> Peter Trevisa of Crocadon		Elizabeth, da. & heir of—Derynge.
Robt. Trevisa of Crocadon		Elizabeth, da. of Wm. Bond, etc.		
John Trevisa (3. son)	Richard (2)	Peter Trevisa of Crocadon— bur. 19 May, 1598, at St. Mellion.	Eliz. da. of John Trelawyne.	Mary, m. July 1564 to John Coryton.

The pedigree continues (pp. 509–10) to 1703, to Wm. Trevisa, posthumous son of Wm. Trevisa of Crocadon and Mary Dorothy, da. ——. He was buried March 19, 1703–4, at St. Mellion. He took his seat in Parliament for Callington in 1679.² Mr. Cooke³ thinks the family became extinct with the death of this William in 1703. The estate was sold about 1690 to Sir Wm. Coryton, the ancestor of the present owner, Col. Coryton of Pentillie Castle. Crocadon was the seat of the Corytons until they removed to Pentillie in Pellaton, 1812.⁴

By Vivian's tables we learn that the Trevisas married into many of the noted families of that part of Cornwall, e. g. (1) Courtenay of Landrake, p. 117; (2) Coryton of West Newton (see above table), p. 101; (3) Buller of Shillingham

¹ Col. J. L. Vivian, *The Visitations of Cornwall* (comprising the Heralds Visitations of 1530, 1573, 1620), London and Exeter, 1877, pp. 506–10.

² W. P. Courtney, *Parl. Hist. of Cornwall*, 1889, p. 273.

³ J. H. Cooke, *Trans. of Bristol and Gloucester Arch. Soc.*, 1876, vol. i, pp. 138 ff.

⁴ Joseph Polsue, *Parochial Hist. of Cornwall*, 4 vols., 1867–72, vol. iii, p. 309.

(Trevisa of Trevisa), p. 56; (4) Battersby of Battersby Hall, in Com. York, p. 21.

Gilbert¹ says: 'The Arms of Trevisa, Gules, a Garbe, Or.² appear among the quarterings of several of the principal families of Cornwall, and that few have a fairer claim with respect to antiquity.' They are found in the quarterings of such families as Vyvyan, Trelowarren and Buller.³ The Vivian family coat of arms is as follows: 'Arms:—Arg. on the waves of the sea, Az. a lion rampant, Gu. quartering; 2 Ferrers, 3 Arundel, 4 Glyn, 5 Thretherffe, 6 St. Aubyn, 7 Chalons, 8 Charlton, 9 Leigh, 10 Courtney and Redvers quarterly, 11 Trevisa. Crest: a horse, passant, . . .⁴

Many of the Trevisas held seats in Parliament during these centuries. Polsue points out that Ralph de Trevysa was M.P. for Liskeard in 1357; for Lostwithiel 1360–2; and Ralph and Richard Trevisa were M.P.s for Launceston in 1371.⁵ In Cal. of Close Rolls, 45 Edw. III, m. 33 d, Mar. 29, and m. 29 d, Apr. 27, Ralph Trevysa is one of the burgesses for Donhevedburgh, although in index given under Launceston. We thus see that the Trevisa family was of some importance in the fourteenth century in the county of Cornwall.

The only reference to the Trevisas in the Calendar of Wills and Administrations relating to the counties of Devon and Cornwall (1540–1798)⁶ is to Wm. Trefusis, St. Earth in 1594. This is a very common name, in this part of Cornwall, during the fifteenth century. In ancient deeds, numbered A 10401, 14 Henry IV;⁷ A 9948, 4 Henry V;⁸ and A 11429, 18 Richard II,⁹ Henry Trefusa appears as a witness. In an Ancient Deed marked A 13009, 13 Henry VI,¹⁰ John Trefusis appears as a witness to a feoffment.

¹ Gilbert's *Survey of England*, vol. ii, p. 309.

² Rogers (see p. lviii) points out that this coat of arms is confirmed by a MS. note-book of the Herald's Visitation of Cornwall in Camden's time in possession of Wm. Borlasse, of Castle Horneck.

³ Gilbert's *Survey*, vol. i, p. 159.

⁴ Pedigree of Family of Vivian of Cornwall, reprinted from *Visitations*, by Lieut.-Col. J. L. Vivian.

⁵ Polsue, *Hist. of Cornwall*, vol. iii, p. 309; Gilbert, vol. ii, p. 309.

⁶ Edward Alex. Fry, *Cal. of Wills and Administrations of Devon and Cornwall*, 1908, p. 183.

⁷ *A Description of Ancient Deeds in Public Record Office*, London, 5 vols., 1902, vol. iv, p. 550.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 482.

⁹ *Ibid.*, vol. v, p. 143.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, vol. v, p. 426.

Ancient Deeds, A 10385,¹ Feoffment of John Trevisa and Amisia his wife to Henry Trewysa and Martin Pendre of all lands, &c., in the towns of Lannargh Mor, &c., 10 Aug., 22 Edward IV. Also in Ancient Deeds, A 9454,² a general release by John Carewe, clerk, and Richard Lannargh Vian to John Trevisa, Christopher Barlowe, &c., 16 Oct., 2 Henry VII. In A 10293,³ bond by Wm. Luddi to John Trevisa, Elizabeth Lannargh and Marina Lannargh in 20*l.* at Easter, 13 Feb., 1 Richard III. Also a deed dated 1390, by which Henry de Trefussa grants to John Myn of Helstonburgh, in tail, a messuage and an acre of land in Helston (Anc. Deeds, A 10341).⁴

We thus see that the Trevisas resided at Crocadon at least in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, that this was an important family in the adjacent sections during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; but it is not evident that they resided at Crocadon at the time of John Trevisa's birth. The evidence seems to be that the family did not settle there until the middle of the fifteenth century. According to Feudal Aid 1428 the landholder in demesne of Croketon, in that year, was Richard Geade. He receives a feudal aid of 11*s.* 11*d.* for land held in Croketon, in Hundredum De Est.⁵ Feudal aid was granted to the previous owner Johanne (de Ferrariis) in 1346.⁶

The name *Trevisa*.

Cooke, in his article on Trevisa and the Chapel at Berkeley Castle, was the first of the modern writers to call attention to the name. 'There is no authority,' he says, 'for the *de* often prefixed, the name being one of the old Cornish, "Tre, Pol, and Pen" names.'⁷

There was a place, Trevisa, or Tre-wisa in S. Enedor, and Hals thinks the family name came from this.⁸ The same opinion is held by Henry Jenner, F.S.A., Hon. Secretary of the Royal Institute of Cornwall. He says: 'The family name

¹ *A Description of Ancient Deeds in Public Record Office*, London, vol. iv, p. 548.

² *Ibid.*, vol. iv, p. 425.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. iv, p. 532.

⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. iv, p. 548.

⁵ *Feudal Aids* (1284-1431), vol. i,

p. 234.

⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 212.

⁷ Jas. Herbert Cooke, *Trans. of Bristol and Gloucester Arch. Soc.*, 1876, vol. i, p. 138.

⁸ Hals, *Parochial Hist. of Cornwall*, vol. iii, p. 305.

evidently comes from a place called Trevisa, which is *Trev-isa*, the lower town. When it occurs it is contrasted with *Tre-whella*, which is *Tre whella*, the upper or higher town. There is a Trevisa in St. Enedor, and close by a Trewhella. But the more usual contracted names with the same meaning are Trewartha and Trewallas.¹ In his article in the *Celtic Review*, he speaks of these differentiating epithets, *wartha* and *wallas*, for upper and lower, *gwida* and *dew*, for white and black, *ncar* and *bean* for great and little.²

II. Life at Oxford.

When we come to consider his student days at Oxford, we are on surer ground. There are at least a few definite records as to his career. This period of his life is not mentioned by either Bale or Pits. Tanner speaks of it thus: 'Trevisa (Johannes) Collegi Exon. dein reginalis Oxon. socius.'³

According to Boase, he entered Exeter College, Lent 1362, remaining there until the winter of 1365. A Fellow of Queen's 1369-74, he was expelled in 1379, but as late as 1396 was paying xiii s. iiii d. for a chamber at Queen's.⁴ He was a student at Exeter in 1362, for in one of the Computi of the then Rector of Exeter College, Robert de Clist or Clyst, mention is made of John Trevysa.⁵ Among the Rector's accounts is that for the 'allowances dietis of John Trevyse, who came into commons on Sunday in the same week'.⁵ Lent 1362, 'pro dietis Johannis Trevyse qui venit ad comunas die dominica, viii d.'⁵ In the

¹ In a letter dated August 4, 1914.

² Henry Jenner, 'Cornwall a Celtic Nation', in *Celtic Review*, 1904, vol. i, pp. 234-45. The Rev. R. Polwhele, in *Hist. of Cornwall*, 1803, has the note: 'Trev, a house, 'Trevisan, the lower town.' In the *Cornish Drama*, 2 vols., trans. and ed. by Edwin Norris, Oxford, 1859, vol. ii, p. 427, under the word Trevedic (*trefedig*, inhabited, *trefedigion*, dwellers, from *tref*, a hamlet, *W treb*, anc. Ir.); *treabh*, f. Gaelic, pron. *trev*. In *Parliamentary Hist. of Cornwall*,

by W. P. Courtney, 1889, we find several Cornish names in 'Tre', Trelawny, Tremayne, Treffry, Trenwith, Trewinnard, still surviving in Cornwall.

³ Thos. Tanner, *Bibl. Brit.-Hib.*, 1748, p. 720.

⁴ C. W. Boase, *Register of Exeter College*, 1894, p. 11.

⁵ *Historical Manuscripts Commission*, Report II (Exeter College, 1870, pp. 128, 129); also Boase, *Register of Exeter College*, Intro., li. Noticed by John J. Rogers of Penrose, *Journal of Royal Institution of Cornwall (Trans.)*, vol. iii, April 1874, p. 262.

computi of the Rector Robert de Clist for the year 1364, in his rendering of accounts, we find: 'xii *d.* pro condutione duorum equorum quando Rector et Johannes Trevyse fuerunt apud West Wyttenham ad componendum cum firmariis pro horreo faciendo. Autumn 1364 (pensiones sociorum) vii s. v *d.* ob. q. Johanni Trevisa.'

We have no record of when he left Exeter and became a Fellow at Queen's. As noticed above, Boase says, 'he was a Fellow at Queen's from 1369-74, was expelled in 1379, &c.' Among the Computi of 1371-2 of Queen's, in a list of payments to the Fellows, we find that 'Trevisa (who had now removed to this College from Exeter College) received half a mark and one penny'.¹ Also in the same year under the expenses of the chapel is the following entry: 'The expenses of Middelworth and Trevisa, in showing the muniments of the Church of Newbold (Newbold Pacey, Co. Warwick) at Stretton, and their charges on the road 36 *d.*.'¹ In the Computus of Robert Blake-done for 1372-3 the name of John Trevisa appears as a Fellow.

In 1379 he, with the Provost and other Fellows, was expelled from Queen's. There seems to have been serious trouble at Oxford about the beginning of Richard I's reign. Anthony Wood, referring to the year 1379, speaks of certain controversies, and says:

'For so great was the enormity between the Provost and Fellows of the same three years since, whether upon account of heresy or elevation of a Provost, I know not, that they not only brought a scandal but a visitation on the College. Alexander Nevile, Arch. of York, receiving divers appeals and complaints from them, sent his Com. to visit the College.'²

Evidence of this trouble is found in Close Rolls, 50 Edw. III, m. 9:

'The Provost and Scholars of the College called La Quenehalle, Oxford, of which the Arch. of York is visitor, are commanded to observe all ordinances and statutes of the College, and to be obedient to the Arch., and to the Commissaries whom he

¹ *Historical MSS. Commission, Report II* (Queen's College, Oxford), 1870, p. 140; Rogers, *J. of R. I. C.*, vol. iv, April 1870, p. 262.

² J. Gutch, edition of Anthony Wood's *Antiquities and Annals*, 1792, vol. i, Bk. I, p. 495.

sends to correct defects and disputes which have arisen in the College, 18 Nov.¹

There appear expulsions before that of Trevisa and his associates, for in a Close Roll, 1 Richard II, January 10, Fellows were excluded from the College because of disputes between the Provost and the Scholars, concerning statutes of the College: 'and these statutes having been ratified and confirmed by the King, he commands Thomas de Karlell, Provost of the College, and the Scholars to re-elect the excluded Fellows, if there be evidence of humility and amendment in them'.² (1378, Jan. 10.)

The next mention of trouble at Queen's in the Rolls is that in Patent, 1 Richard II, pt. v, m. 26 (April 6), where a commission is given to Thomas de la Mare, Knight, Edmund de Stonore and Reginald de Sheffield and those deputed by them, to command Richard de Thorpe, clerk, William Frank, and William Middleworth, clerk, to restore to Master Thomas de Carlol, Provost of the College called 'Quenehalle', Oxford, the college seal, writings, muniments, keys, books and goods, failing to do which they are to be arrested and brought before the Council at Westminster for punishment.³

On June 26, 1379 (Close Rolls, 3 Rich. II, m. 41), the Chancellor and Rectors of the University of Oxford were commanded to inquire by a jury, in whose hands now are the charters, books, jewels, and other muniments, goods, and chattels of the College called The Quenehalle, which were taken away by certain of the scholars now removed.⁴ Trevisa's name does not appear in the order.

On May 1, 1380 (Patent Rolls, 3 Rich. II, pt. ii, m. 30), a pardon of outlawry was granted to Master William Middleworth, for not appearing to render chattels to Master Thomas Karlell, Provost of the College called 'le Quenhall'.⁵

¹ *Calendar of Close Rolls*, 1374-7, p. 400. Mentioned in *Statutes of Oxford Colleges*, 3 vols., 1853, vol. iii, App., p. 32.

² *Calendar of Close Rolls*, Rich. II, 1377-81, p. 42; also *Statutes of Oxford Colleges*, vol. iii, App., p. 33.

³ *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, Rich. II,

1377-81, p. 204; also *Statutes of Oxford Colleges*, vol. iii, App., p. 33.

⁴ *Calendar of Close Rolls*, Rich. II, 1377-81, p. 258; *Statutes of Oxford Colleges*, vol. iii, App., p. 34.

⁵ *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, Rich. II, 1377-81, p. 432.

Anthony Wood¹ states that in 1379 Mr. Henry Whytefield, the Provost, Mr. Will Fraunke, Mr. Robert Lydeford, and Mr. John Trevisa, Fellows, were expelled by the second visitation of the Archbishop of York (no reference to this in Patent or Close Rolls), and that they took with them divers charters, books, jewels, money, and goods belonging to the College. Wood makes the order as in Close Rolls, 3 Rich. II, m. 41 (see above), refer to these thefts by the Fellows first mentioned. His statement is not in agreement with the Rolls, nor is there any mention of the expulsion of Trevisa before October 20, 1379 (Patent Rolls, 3 Rich. II, pt. i, m. 20 d), when a 'Commission of oyer and terminer' is granted

'to the chancellor of the University of Oxford for the time being, Master John de Bloxham, Master Thomas Walleworth, Master John de Calton, and Master Robert Dix after enquiry at Oxford into the complaint of Master Thomas de Karlell, Provost of 'Quenehalle', and the scholars of that college, that Master Henry Whitfield, late provost, and Master William Fraunk, Master Robert Lydeford, and Master John Trevisa, late scholars and fellows thereof, who have been excluded therefrom for their unworthiness (*exigentibus demeritis*), refuse to account for certain moneys of the college that came to their hands as well before the cession of the said Henry and the exclusion of the other three as after, and have taken away charters, books, jewels and muniments, besides goods belonging to the college.'²

Also Feb. 7, 1380 (Patent Rolls, 3 Rich. II, pt. ii, m. 12 d) a commission of oyer and terminer

'to Master William Berton, Chancellor of the University of Oxford, Master John Shirburn, Master Thomas Swyndon and Master Robert Bix, on complaint of Master Thomas Karlell, the provost, and the scholars of the college "Le Quenehall", Oxford, that Master Henry Whitfield, the late provost, Master William Fraunk, Master Robert Lideford and Master John Trevisa, late scholars and fellows of the college, now excluded therefrom, refuse to account for money which came to their hands, as well before the resignation of the said Henry and the exclusion of the said William, Robt. and John, as afterwards, and also took away charters, books, jewels and other muniments belonging to the college and pledged the same. The commis-

¹ *Antiquities and Annals*, vol. i, Bk. I, p. 495.

² *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, Rich. II, 1377-81, p. 420.

sioners are to proceed by sworn examination of both parties and other scholars of the University and to compel restitution.’¹

These charters of the University were found and voluntarily restored by Mr. Whytefield to Mr. Thomas Karliel, Provost of the College.²

Trevisa’s career at Oxford did not end in 1379, for, according to Thomsón, he was mentioned as a Fellow in a *Computus* of 1385, along with William Trevillis, another Cornish man. Also in 1386–7 he paid the College four marks for four years’ room rent, ‘and six and eight pence for expenses of some proceedings against him ; whilst on the back of the roll where these entries occur is a memorandum half illegible, that seems to say he did not pay the sum, ‘*de obligatione*’.³ Later than this we find him at Oxford. In the *Computi* for 19 Richard II (1395–6) he is entered as paying 14s. 4d. yearly for a chamber rented at Queen’s, although no longer a Fellow. In the Roll for 22–3 Rich. II, 1398–9, he is entered as still paying, and it is further stated that this is only part of the amount which he formerly paid.⁴

III. *Life at Berkeley Castle.*

Bale, Pits, and Tanner all tell us that he was Vicar of Berkeley (Vicarius de Berkeley). Rogers says: ‘He was appointed domestic chaplain at Berkeley Castle by Thomas Lord Berkeley, who subsequently presented him to the Vicarage of Berkeley, where he is believed to have died A.D. 1412, at the ripe age of 70.’⁵ Boase and Courtney say that he was ‘Vicar of Berkeley, Gloucestershire, Chaplain to Thomas, Maurice, and Thomas, eighth, ninth, and tenth Lords of Berkeley, 1350–1412 ; that he resided generally in Gloucestershire, travelled in Germany and Savoy, died at Berkeley 1412, and was buried in the Chancel of the church’.⁶

Trevisa was at Berkeley when he finished his *Polychronicon*

¹ *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, Rich. II, 1377–81, p. 470.

² Gutch, ed. of Wood’s *Antiquities and Annals*, vol. i, Bk. I, p. 496.

³ William Thomson, *An Open College Best for All*, 1854.

⁴ *Hist. MSS. Com.*, Report II, 1870, p. 141.

⁵ J. J. Rogers, *J. of R. I. C.*, No. 11, April 1870, p. 147.

⁶ Boase and Courtney, *Bibl. Cornub.*, vol. ii, p. 798.

in 1387,¹ and when he finished his *Bartholomaeus* in 1398.¹ His death took place there in 1402.² We have no evidence as to when he was appointed Vicar of Berkeley. If the Berkeley MS., *Lives of the Berkeleys*, is correct, he was there as early as 1357, and had completed his most important translation at this early date.³ The only information of his life at Berkeley, beside the above date, is to be found in the *Lives of the Berkeleys* (from the Berkeley MSS.) from 1066–1618, by John Smyth of Nibley, edited by Sir John MacLean, 3 vols., 1883. A very careful examination of recent date of the Bishops' Registers (unprinted) of the diocese of Worcester, 1350–1420, gives us no information concerning Trevisa except the date of his death.

Trevisa was Vicar at Berkeley under three of the Lords, viz. Thomas III, eighth lord, born 1293, ruled 1326–61; Maurice IV, his son, 1361–8; and Thomas IV (grandson of Thomas III), born 1353, held sway 1368–1417.⁴ The first entry concerning Trevisa in Smyth's *Lives of the Berkeleys* is in the life of Thomas III, and reads thus:

'And pardon mee, oh my God, in my overflowing affection to this Lord Thomas, if I break out in prayer before thee, to remember the dust of this thy honorable servant, resting in Berkeley Church, in the travells and pious ways wherein hee walked, and forget not (lord) thy doctrine taught him by thy learned servant his Chaplen, John Trevisa, vicar of the same church, whose bones rest there alsoe.'⁵

A few pages later, we find that he was at Berkeley a short time before 1361. 'In the later days of this lord Thomas flourished John Trevisa, a gent. of an antient family bearing gules, a garbe or, born at Crocadon in Cornwall, a secular preist and vicar of Berkeley; who translated the Bible, etc.'⁶

¹ See closing words of these works, pp. lxxxiv and lxxxviii.

² See p. lxxv for Register's entry.

³ See p. lxxxiv for discussion of dates 1357 and 1387. Smyth has him Vicar of Berkeley in 1351 (*Lives of Berkeleys*, vol. i, p. 19). Rev. J. H. Bloom, Vicar of Whitechurch, Stratford-on-Avon, who examined the Bishops' Registers of Worcester for me, writes Feb. 12, 1915, that, in

1360, 'one Master David was Vicar of Berkeley'. Bishops' Reg. Bryan I. 108 d.

⁴ Sir John MacLean, *Lives of the Berkeleys*, by John Smyth, 3 vols., 1883, vol. i, pp. 279–361; G. F. Clark, 'Berkeley Castle', in *Bristol and Gloucester Trans.*, 1876, p. 115.

⁵ MacLean, *ibid.*, vol. i, p. 338.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 343.

He speaks of him dedicating the Bible and *Polychronicon* to this lord, and *Bartholomaeus* and other treatises to this lord's son and grandson.

(a) *Canon at Westbury Collegiate Church.*

Boase says he was 'canon of Westbury, near Bristol'.¹ Boase and Courtney that he was 'Canon of Collegiate Church of Westbury on Severn or Gloucestershire (or, according to another account, of Westbury in Wiltshire)'.² Cooke states: 'Wickliff was appointed in 1374 to the crown living of Lutterworth; he also held the prebend of Aust in the Collegiate Church of Westbury-on-Trym in Gloucester, of which church Trevisa was likewise a Canon.'³ Miss Greenwood: 'He also, like Wyclif, held a non-resident canonry of the Collegiate Church of Westbury-on-Trym.'⁴ H. J. Wilkins: 'In 1387 John Trevisa, who was one of the fathers of English prose, became a canon, and held it till he died in 1412.'⁵ C. L. Kingsford, in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, writes: 'He was also a canon of Westbury-on-Severn.'⁶ Tanner, quoting Dugdale: 'Canonicus ecclesiae collegiate de Westbury in comit Wilts sive Gloucester.'⁷ Dugdale: 'A cannon of the Collegiate Church of Westbury in Com. Wilts,' and gives the important reference Rot. Franc., 14 R. 2, M. 10.⁸ Babington says: 'Canon of the Collegiate Church of Westbury on Severn in Gloucestershire, or, according to Dugdale, *Baronage*, vol. ii, p. 360, of Westbury in Wiltshire.'⁹

These writers have noticed three different Westburys:

1. Westbury, Comit. Wilts., in the diocese of Salisbury.
2. Westbury-on-Severn, now having a population of 2,000, post town Newnham, in the Archdeaconry of Hereford, in the diocese of Gloucester, and formerly with the church in the patronage of Vicar's Choral of Hereford.

¹ Boase, op. cit., p. 11.

² Op. cit., p. 798.

³ Op. cit., p. 138.

⁴ Miss Alice Greenwood, *Camb. Hist. of Eng. Lit.*, vol. ii, pp. 80-100.

⁵ Rev. H. J. Wilkins, *Some Chapters in the Eccl. Hist. of Westbury-on-Trym*, Bristol, 1909, p. 96.

⁶ C. L. Kingsford, article on Tre-

visa, vol. lvii.

⁷ Op. cit., p. 720.

⁸ Wm. Dugdale, *The Baronage of England*, 1675-6, 3 vols., vol. i, p. 360. Rot. Franc., 14 R. etc. is now catalogued at Record Office as Treaty Roll, No. 75 (see next page).

⁹ Higden's *Polychronicon* (Rolls Series), vol. i, p. liv (note).

3. Westbury-on-Trym (or Trim), with a population of 10,000, near Bristol, in the Archdeaconry of Gloucester, now of the diocese of Bristol and formerly of Gloucester, and before the sixteenth century in the diocese of Worcester.

Trevisa was canon of a collegiate church at Westbury in 1390-1. The Treaty Rolls, 14 Rich. II, m. 10 (now catalogued in the Record Office as Treaty Roll No. 75) referred to by Dugdale, has this entry:

‘Magister Johannes Trevysa vicarius ecclesie de Berkele et canonicus ecclesie collegiate de Westbury (qui de licencia Regis ad partes transmarinas profecturus est habet literas Regis de generali attornatu) sub nominibus Magistri Roberti de Hoder-sale clerici et Magistri Williame de Faryngton, clerici. Teste Rege apud Westmonasterium quinto de Novembris.

‘Robertus de Faryngton, clericus, recepit attornatum usque redditum predicti Johannis in Anglia.’

It is not clear why Dugdale, from this evidence, makes Trevisa ‘a cannon of the Collegiate Church of Westbury in Com. Wilts.’ Nor is it clear why Tanner, quoting from Dugdale, makes him ‘canonicus ecclesiae collegiate de Westbury in Comit. Wilts sive Glocest.’ No evidence has thus far come to hand showing at which Westbury he was canon. The Treaty Roll states that he was ‘canon of the collegiate church at Westbury’. The Episcopal Bishops’ Registers of Worcester (1350-1420), recently examined, make no mention of his canonry, in either Westbury-on-Severn or Westbury-on-Trym.

Which of these Westburys had a Collegiate Church in the last part of the fourteenth century? As will be seen from the following, Westbury-on-Trym seems to have been the Collegiate Church. There is no evidence whatever in favour of the Wiltshire Westbury, or the Westbury-on-Severn.

Westbury, Wilts., was never a Collegiate Church. At an early date the Westbury Rectory was assigned to the Precentorship of Sarum, and was exempt from supervision of an Archdeacon. A copy of the original endowment of the vicarage of Westbury is in the Bishop’s Palace at Salisbury,

A. D. 1377, 1 Rich. II.¹ Phillips, in his *Institutions of Wiltshire*, A. D. 1297–1810, has but one reference to Westbury, in a foot-note as to a Vicar there at the Restoration. Hoare² mentions only two appointments of clergy there in our period, viz.:

1342. Rector, Richard de Anesy, Vicar, Nic. Fitzwaren.

1377. Rector, Robt. de Walton, Vicar, W. Nisbe.

No mention is made of Westbury, in Wiltshire, having a Collegiate Church in either the Patent or Close Rolls, nor in the Papal Letters or Papal Petitions of our period, where so often we find references to the Collegiate Church of Westbury. Where Westbury in Wiltshire is mentioned in these registers it is in connexion with land or property.³

Again, there appears to be no evidence that Westbury-on-Severn had a Collegiate Church. References in the Patent and Close Rolls are always to a transfer of land or a reference to property of some nature. In Patent Rolls, 11 Rich. II, pt. i, m. 28, July 12, 1387, Thos. Bellying, Vicar of Westbury (on Severn), Co. Glouc., holds certain lands.⁴ In Patent Rolls, 11 Rich. II, pt. ii, m. 7, June 12, 1388, a certain transfer of lands in the parish of Westbury (on Severn, Co. Glouc.⁵). Also Pat. Rolls, 18 Rich. II, pt. ii, m. 10, June 4, 1395, the church of Wesebury (on Severn, Co. Glouc.) is spoken of in connexion with a land transaction.⁶ In Patent Rolls, 19 Rich. II, m. 36, Nov. 28, 1395, six acres of land in Wesebury and the advowson of Wesebury, not held in chief, were granted to the Warden of the College of Vicars and the vicars in the choir of the Cathedral Church of Hereford, in aid of their support, and in augmentation of divine service there, &c.⁷

This Westbury is spoken of as being by Newenham, in connexion with a charter of John Billyng, giving with

¹ Sir L. C. Hoare's *History of Modern Wiltshire*, vol. iii, p. 19.

² *Ibid.*, vol. ii.

³ Pat. Rolls, 2 Rich. II, pt. ii, m. 26; Pat. Rolls, 3 Rich. II, pt. i, m. 45; Pat. Rolls, 12 Rich. II, m. 27 (1385–9, p. 6); Pat. Rolls, 17 Rich. II, pt. ii, m. 8 (1391–6, p.

417); Pat. Rolls, 20 Rich. II, pt. iii, m. 21 (1391–6, p. 126); *Papal Letters*, vol. i, 1209.

⁴ *Cal. of Patent Rolls*, Rich. II, 1385–9, p. 341.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 454.

⁶ *Cal. of Patent Rolls*, 1391–6, p. 574.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 661.

warranty an acre of land to the Bishop of Hereford (Close Rolls, 43 Edward III, m. 21d, June 5, 1369).¹

Among the Papal Petitions, 1343, 1 Clement VI, we find that Richard Talbot, Baron, had founded an Augustinian priory in his lordship of Flanesford, in the diocese of Hereford, with a church and divers offices for a prior and several canons, with sanction of the Bishop and Chapter; that the Prior and convent of Flannesford may be more independent, they pray that the parish church of Westbury (district not specified), value not exceeding £20, and served by a vicar, may be granted to their uses; possession of the same being taken on death of present rector, the diocesan's permission not being requested (Avignon, 4 Kal. May, 1343).² The 'Church of Westbury by Gloucester on Severn' was appropriated as per this request, by command of the Pope, at Avignon, 8 Id. Aug. 1347³ (6 Innocent VI). The few other references to this Westbury, in the Patent and Close Rolls, or in the Papal Registers, are to lands, property, &c. No reference anywhere is there to a Collegiate Church.

The facts in regard to Westbury-on-Trym are as follows: As early as 883 King Oswald placed monks there.⁴ As early as 1257 there seem to have been prebends there, for in 3 Alexander IV, 1257, 6 Kal. July, a mandate was issued to induct Master Gregory of Naples into possession of the prebend in the church of Wisbere, in the diocese of Worcester.⁵ In 1288⁶ Godfrey Gifford made his first effort to join the churches of his manors to the prebends of Westbury. This was opposed by a Papal Bull in 1288.⁶ The Bishop received the royal assent and in 1290⁶ installed three persons as prebends. Dugdale gives the date 1288 as the founding of the College for a dean and canons by Godfrey Gifford, Bishop of Worcester, dedicated to the Holy Trinity.⁷ It seems that in 1095 Sampson, Bishop of Worcester, placed canons there in place of the Benedictine

¹ *Cal. of Close Rolls*, 1369-74, p. 89.

p. 346.

² *Cal. of Papal Petitions*, vol. ii, p. 16.

⁶ *Annales Monastici*, vol. iv, pp. 496, 498, 500, 502, 504.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. xxix, p. 336.

⁷ *Monasticon*, 1846, vol. vi (Tom. VIII), p. 1439.

⁴ *Annales Monastici*, vol. iv, p. 369.

⁵ *Cal. of Papal Letters*, vol. xxv,

monks, placed there by Bishop Oswald in 928.¹ It appears that there were five canonries, with prebends, at the time of the Taxation of Pope Nicholas in 1291. The College was more fully endowed by J. Carpenter in 1464, who sometimes styled himself Bishop of Westbury. He died and was buried at Westbury in 1476.² Tanner gives in an appendix to *Notitia Monastica* a list of deans but not of canons. This College of the Holy Trinity, founded in 1288, with a Dean and five Canons, in the patronage of the Popes of Worcester, is said by Tanner to have been at Westbury on Trim, or Trymme, in the County of Gloucester.³ In *Beauties of England and Wales* we have the following :

‘Westbury-on-Trim is a small neat village, chiefly consisting of respectable residences belonging to the merchants and traders of Bristol. Here was a College for a Dean and five Canons, generally said to have been founded by Bishop Carpenter, but more truly by the famous, though eccentric, William Cungrys of Bristol, who became the first Dean. The building was entire till the time of Charles I, when Prince Rupert ordered it to be destroyed, lest it should afford shelter to the Parliament’s troops in annoyance to the garrison of Bristol ; the remains are now incorporated in a genteel mansion, the property of John Hobhouse, Esq.’⁴

The Collegiate Church of Westbury mentioned in *Valor Ecclesiasticus* is Westbury-on-Trym. It speaks of it at that date (1334–5) as being a well-endowed College in diocese Gloster, but Antea Wigorn.⁵

I close this discussion by giving a number of references in the Patent Rolls, and also in the Papal Letters and Petitions, all referring to the Collegiate Church of Westbury-on-Trym, in regard to its canons or prebends.

Calendar : Patent Rolls :

23 Edward III, m. 29, Sept. 28, 1349 (1348–50, p. 29).

24 ,, pt. i, m. 36, Jan. 30, 1350 (1348–50, p. 466).

49 ,, pt. ii, m. 11.

¹ Rev. C. S. Taylor, ‘The Church Monastery of Westbury-on-Trym’, 1897 (*Proceedings of Clifton Antiquarian Club*, 1897–9, pp. 20–42).

² Leland’s *Itinerary*, 1910, vol. v, p. 227.

³ *Notitia Monastica*, 1744, p. 142.

⁴ E. W. Brayley and J. Britton, *Beauties of England and Wales*, vol. v, p. 729.

⁵ *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, 1524–5, vol. ii, pp. 432–5, 474.

- 7 Richard II, pt. ii, m. 6, May 31, 1384 (1381-5, p. 408).
 10 " pt. i, m. 35, Aug. 1, 1386 (1385-9, p. 200).
 11 " pt. i, m. 14, Sept. 28, 1387 (1385-9, p. 361).
 12 " pt. ii, m. 20, Feb. 26, 1389 (1385-9, p. 18).
 12 " pt. i, m. 35, July 6, 1388 (1385-9, p. 542).
 13 " pt. i, m. 27, July 8, 1389 (1389-92, p. 88).
 14 " pt. i, m. 22, Sept. 16, 1390 (1388-92, p. 308).
 14 " pt. ii, m. 41, Jan. 12, 1391 (1388-92, p. 363).
 15 " pt. i, m. 25, Sept. 14, 1391 (1388-92, p. 476).
 18 " pt. i, m. 10, Sept. 27, 1394 (1391-6, p. 503).
 18 " pt. ii, m. 19, Apr. 6, 1395 (1391-6, p. 559).
 18 " pt. ii, m. 18 d, Apr. 28, 1395 (1391-6, p. 590).
 18 " pt. ii, m. 5, June 10, 1395 (1391-6, p. 581).
 3 Henry IV, pt. ii, m. 2, Sept. 17, 1402 (1401-5, p. 121).
 4 " pt. i, m. 27, Oct. 14, 1402 (1401-5, p. 157).
 5 " pt. i, m. 32, Feb. 18, 1403 (1401-5, p. 305).

There may be other references that I have missed, but this will suffice. The Collegiate Church of Westbury-on-Trym, Co. Gloucester, diocese of Worcester, was an important church during the last half of the fourteenth century, having a dean, canons, and prebends in its jurisdiction. The Papal Petitions of this period often mention it. A few of these will be noted:

- 1 Clement VI, 1342, *Cal. of Papal Registers—Petitions*, 1342-1419, vol. i, p. 4.
 1 " 1342, *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 10.
 4 " 16 Aug. 1345, *Ibid.*, vol. ix, p. 79.
 7 " 1349, *Ibid.*, vol. xvii, p. 148.
 8 " 6 id. Oct. 1349, *Ibid.*, vol. xix, p. 177.
 9 " non. June, 1350, *Ibid.*, vol. xx, p. 199.
 9 " id. Aug. 1350, *Ibid.*, vol. xx, pp. 202-3.
 2 Innocent VI, 1354, *Ibid.*, vol. xxv, pp. 263-4.
 2 " 3 id. Dec. 1354, *Ibid.*, vol. xxv, p. 268.
 2 " 9 Kal. Feb. 1355, *Ibid.*, vol. xxvi, p. 279.
 5 " 6 Kal. May, 1357, *Ibid.*, vol. xxvii, pp. 294-5.
 1 Urban V, 5 Kal. Mar., 1363, *Ibid.*, vol. xxxvi, p. 407.
 10 Clement VII, 12 Kal. Apr. 1389, *Ibid.*, vol. lxix, p. 571.

These all refer to canonries and prebendaries of the Collegiate Church of Westbury-on-Trym. The nature of the entries can easily be found by referring to the *Calendar of Papal Registers—Petitions* for 1342-1419, contained in one volume; Index, p. 750.

Many references may be found to this college and church in Papal Letters (*Cal. of Papal Letters*, 9 vols.).

In vol. i, p. 603, Boniface VIII, in his first year (non. Aug. 1303), grants dispensation to Peter de Laicestria to hold canonries and prebends of Lichfield, Westbiri (Gloc.), and Warwick.

Vol. ii (1305-42) mentions it a number of times, but the compilers of the index simply speak of it as Westbury (Co. Gloucester). The references have to do with the appointments of the Canons and Prebends, and no mention is made of a Collegiate Church. This doubtless, however, is the same church, Westbury-on-Trym. Some of these are :

- 3 Clement V, 5 Kal. Aug., 1308, vol. ii (LV), p. 42. Grant of Canonry of Westbury in dio. of Worcester to Wm. de Melton.
 - 4 ,, 12 Kal. June, 1309, vol. ii (LVI), p. 53. Grant of Canonry and Preb. of Westbury to Wm. de Briston.
 - 9 ,, 8 id. June, 1314, vol. ii (LXI), p. 121.
 - 1 John XXII, 5 id. Apr., 1317, vol. ii (LXV), p. 148.
 - 3 ,, 6 Kal. May, 1319, vol. ii (LXIX), p. 185.
 - 14 ,, 4 id. Mar., 1330, vol. ii (XCV), p. 316.
 - 15 ,, 18 Kal. Feb., 1331, vol. ii (XCVII), p. 332.
 - 18 ,, 3 id. Mar., 1334, vol. ii (CVI), p. 399.
- In 13 John XXII, 11 Kal. Nov., 1329, vol. ii (LXXXIX), p. 285, the only mention of a Collegiate Church at Westbury occurs.

In the second volume of *Papal Letters* (1342-62) Westbury-on-Trym is mentioned often, and so indicated in the index.

In vol. iv (1362-1404) we find the entry concerning Wiclif. This is in 3 Greg. XI, 7 Kal. Jan., 1373 (p. 193). Provision to John Wiclif, Canon of Lincoln, Master of Theology, granted to him, who holds also the church of Lugdgersale in the diocese of Lincoln, to retain even after getting possession of a canonry and prebend, under a provision lately made to him by the Pope of a canonry of Lincoln reservation of a prebend—his canonry and prebend of (Aust in) Westbury, in the diocese of Worcester, &c.

In vol. vii, p. 322 (1417-31), during the rule of Martin V, 1422, a grant to John Powle, Dean of Holy Trinity, Westbury, in the diocese of Worcester. As late as 1438-9 mention is made of the Dean of Holy Trinity, Westburi. in diocese of Worcester (vol. ix, 1431-47), p. 59.

(b) Date of his Death.

Trevisa was at Berkeley during the last days of the third Thomas, 8th Lord of Berkeley, who died in 1361.¹ The 9th Lord, Maurice IV, died in 1368. The greater part of Trevisa's life as Vicar of Berkeley was spent in the service of the 10th Lord of Berkeley, Thomas V, born 1353, died 1417. To this lord he dedicated his translation of the *Polychronicon*, in 1387, in the following words: 'This translacioun is y-ended in a Thursday eyȝtȝe day of Aueryl, the ȝere of our Lord a þowsand þre hundred foure score and seuene: þe tenþe ȝere of Kyng Richard þe secounde after þe conquest of Engelande: þe ȝere of my lordes age Sire Thomas lorde of Berkeley, þat made me make þis translacioun, fyue and þritty.'² Also his translation of Bartholomaeus, *De Proprietatibus Rerum*, in 1398, in the following words: 'Endless grace, blisse and thankinge to our lord God Alweldinge, these translations ended at Berkeley the sixth day of February the year of our lord 1398, the year of King Richard the second after the conquest of England the 22nd. The year of my lords age Sir Thomas lord of Berkeley that made me make this translation, the 47th.'³

MacLean gives the date of Trevisa's death as 1412, basing his statement on Register Wigorn.: 'This Trevisa dyed the 13th year of King Henry the fourth, when John Bone John succeeded in that vicarage, whom this lord made one of his Executors, and proved a false priest to the heir male of his said lord as after I shall touch.'⁴

Henry Wharton, the seventeenth-century antiquarian and collector, gives the same date. His note preserved for us in Codices Whartoniani is a part of the MS. Lambeth 585, p. 637, in Lambeth Palace. The reference is as follows: 'Trevisa obit. 13 H. 4. et successorem habuit in Vicaria Johan. Bone-John. Ex. Regro. Wigorn.' Following this record, Tanner, Townley, Babington, Rogers, Boase and Courtney, Cooke, Jeayes, Boase, and Kingsford

¹ MacLean, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 343. But see reference to Bloom's search (above, p. lxvi).

² This is taken from Add. 24194.

³ This is quoted from MacLean, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 22.

⁴ MacLean, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 22.

all place his death in 1412. Fuller has 'about 1400'. Gilbert either 1399 or 1410. Atkyns¹ gives his death in 1409.

The date of his death has been settled by the discovery of the entry, dealing with the appointment of his successor to the Berkeley Vicarage. The entry is found under the date, 1402, in vol. xvii, memb. 14 d, in the unprinted Bishops' Register of the diocese of Worcester,² during the bishopric of R. Clifford, 1401-7. These registers are preserved in Worcester Cathedral. The entry is as follows:

'1402 Berkelegh Vicaria—Vicesimo primo die dicte mensis Maii dictus Vicarius in spiritualibus apud London ad vicariam ecclesie parochialis de Berkelegh Wygornensis diocesis per mortem magistri Johannis Trevisa ultimum vicarium ejusdem vacantum; dominum Johannem Bonjon Presbyterum ad presentationem Religiosorum virorum Abbatis et Conventus Monasterii Sancti Augustini juxta Bristoll admisit ad vicarium perpetuum de corporaliter inibi residendo iuxta formam constitutionem dominorum Othonis et Ottoboni quondam sedis apostolici in Anglia legatorum in hac parte editarum iuratum instituit canonicum in eadem cum suis iuribus et pertinentiis universis. Quibus die et loco dictus dominus Iohannes iuravit obedientiam domino et habuit litteras institutionis ac mandatum ad inducendum directe Archidiaconus Gloucestrensis ut est moris.' *Reg. Clifford*, 14 d.

B. TREVISA'S WORKS.

Lists of Trevisa's works are given by Bale, Pits, Tanner, Babington, Rogers, and Miss Greenwood.

Bale gives the following:

1. Utrumque Testamentum.	Lib. 2.
2. Bartholomaeum de Proprietatibus.	Lib. 19.
3. Ranulphi Polychronicon.	Lib. 7.
4. De sua translatione dialogum.	Lib. 1.
5. Continuationes Polychronici.	Lib. 1.
6. Gesta regis Arthuri.	Lib. 1.
7. Britanniae descriptionem.	Lib. 1.
8. Hyberniae descriptionem.	Lib. 1.
9. De Memorabilibus eorum temporum	Lib. 1.

et alia plura fecit et transtulit.

¹ Atkyns, *History of Gloucestershire*.

² These registers, from 1350-1420, were examined for me by the Rev. J. Harvey Bloom, Whitechurch, Stratford-on-Avon. The above

entry was communicated to me in a letter under date of 12 Feb., 1915. No other reference to Trevisa appears in the Registers.

Pits gives the same list :

- | | | |
|----|---|--------------|
| 1. | Sacra Biblia, Libros duos. | |
| 2. | Ranulphi Polychronicon, Libros septem. | |
| 3. | Dialogus translatione. librum unum. | |
| 4. | Polychronici continuationes.—librum unum. | |
| 5. | Bartholomaeus de proprietatibus rerum—libros, novem
decem. | |
| 6. | De memorabilibus temporum. | Librum unum. |
| 7. | Gesta Regis Arthuri. | " " |
| 8. | Descriptionem Britanniae. | " " |
| 9. | Descriptionem Hiberniae | " " |
- et alia nonnulla.

In addition to the above Tanner mentions the following :

1. De calore thermarum Bathoniensium.
2. Genealogia Davidis regis Scotiae.¹
3. Richardi Armachani defensorium curatorum.²
4. Vegetii de re militari.
5. Aegidii Romani de regimine principum.

Babington, in the Introduction (pp. liii ff.) to his edition of *Polychronicon* in the Rolls Series, mentions the works of Trevisa, taking them from Tanner's bibliography and Dibdin's *Typographical Antiquities*. He includes in his list, in addition to those mentioned by Bale and Tanner, two new works, both mentioned by Dibdin, viz. (1) *Dialogus inter Militem et Clericum*, Trevisa's translation from the Latin of Wm. Occam, and (2) Methodius's tract, *On the Beginning and End of the World*. Dibdin in mentioning these works is describing the Harleian MS. 1900. In describing the *Dialogue* he makes the same mistake as does the compiler of the Catalogue of Harleian MSS., viz. that the dialogue between the soldier and the clergyman was between Lord Berkeley and the author Trevisa.

Rogers, in his article in the *Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall*, 1870, includes all the above in his list. He lists the following as: I. Original writings: (1) *De Calore Thermarum Bathoniensium*, (2) *De utilitate translationum, dialogus inter patrum et clericum*, (3) *Gesta Regis Arthuri*, (4) *Britanniae descriptio*, (5) *Hiberniae descriptio*, (6) *De Memorabilibus temporum*,

¹ Tanner says: 'Haec MS. citatus ab Usser.' *Dogmatica Historica*, p. 123.

² Tanner refers to this: 'In

codem libro (*Dog. Hist.*, p. 430', Whartonus adnotat Iohannem Trevisam transtulisse in linguam Anglicanam....'

(7) *Genealogia Davidis Regis Scotiae*. II. Translations into English: (1) *Polychronicon*, (2) Bartholomaeus, *De Proprietatibus rerum*, (3) Ricardi Armachani, *defensorium curatorum*, (4) Vegetii, *de re Militari*, (5) Aegidii Romani, *de regimine Principum*, (6) Gulielmi Occam, *Dialogus inter Militem et Clericum*, (7) Methodius, *On the beginning and end of the world*.

In an article in the same *Journal*, on Trevisa, in 1874, Rogers mentions as a translation the 'Nicodemus treatise on the passion of Christ'.

Miss Greenwood is more cautious in listing Trevisa material. She omits all the original works listed by Rogers, and questions *de re Militari* and *de Regimine Principum*.

I. TRANSLATIONS

(1) The *Polychronicon*

The Manuscripts.

This was a most popular medieval history written in Latin by Ranulf Higden, a monk of St. Werburgh's, Chester, about 1350. 'The Latin MSS.', says Mr. Babington,¹ 'are prodigiously numerous, and amount in all, I believe, to a number considerably greater than one hundred.' Mr. Macray (p. 39), in *Manual of British Historians*, mentions upwards of seventy, and says, 'There are MSS. in nearly all the libraries in England'. Trevisa translated the *Polychronicon* in the fourteenth century. This translation is preserved in the following MSS.: Cotton Tiberius D. vii; Harleian 1900; Brit. Mus. Additional 24194; St. John's College, Cambridge, H. 1; Burleigh House; Chetham's College Library, Manchester; Stowe 65 in British Museum.² In addition, two others have been mentioned: (1) that in the Hunterian Museum, University of Glasgow, mentioned briefly in the third report of the Historical MSS. Commission, 1872, p. 424, by John Stuart on 'MSS. in Glasgow University'. The brief notice there is: 'Higden's *Polychronicon* by Trevisa. Folio. vellum.' It is noticed by Mr. Lumby, vol. v, p. xlv, of the Rolls Series. For a full description see Catalogue of MSS. in the Hunterian Collection, University of Glasgow, by Young and Aitkin, 1908, No. 83, p. 88. It is

¹ Op. cit., vol. i, p. xlii.

² Described pp. xv ff.

fifteenth century, written on paper $11\frac{3}{8} \times 8\frac{5}{8}$, ff. 148, originally 166. Contents given as Trevisa's Chronicle. On Verso II, 1, in Dr. Wm. Hunter's hand: 'Fructus Temporum or Croniclis of Englonde; which were afterward printed by Caxton.' (2) Another MS. attributed to Trevisa is in Trinity College, Dublin.¹ The brief notice in Historical MSS. Commission Report, No. IV, p. 598, is 'History of Britain by Trevisa, 4to vellum. Imperfect.' In the Catalogue the description is brief. It is numbered 506, E. 54, fol. parchment, $8\frac{8}{10} \times 6\frac{9}{10}$, writing $6\frac{4}{10} \times 4\frac{5}{10}$, 15 cent., 94 leaves, defective, begins in Chap. 17, ends Chap. 127, under 4th year of Henry IV. In answer to an inquiry, Mr. Alfred de Burgh, Assistant Librarian, wrote me under date of Jan. 1, 1915, that the Librarian, Dr. J. Gilbert Smyly, had examined the MS. afresh, and found that it did not correspond with Trevisa's version. Dr. Smyly also compared the MS. with other chronicles, and found the closest resemblance in an anonymous Chronicle from a Lambeth MS. edited by James Gairdner in *Three Fifteenth-Century Chronicles*, Camden Society, 1880. There was much similarity in the names of persons, and sometimes a close correspondence of phrases, but the Dublin MS. was, on the whole, considerably fuller. In a letter dated Jan. 5, 1915, Mr. de Burgh has this further bit of information: 'The Chronicle covers the same ground at about the same length, with omissions and additions, as *The Brut or The Chronicle of England*, ed. by F. W. D. Brie (E. E. T. S., 1906, 1908, pts. 1, 2). The proper names in the mythical period are not in the same form.' Brie used Dublin MSS. 490, 500, 501, but Mr. de Burgh is not sure whether he was familiar with 506.

The Printed Editions (English).

I. 1482, printed by Wm. Caxton.

Caxton finished his *Polychronicon* July 2, 1482. He altered Trevisa's English, as will be seen from his prohemie. He prefaced it by Trevisa's dialogue between himself and his patron, by his epistle to Lord Berkeley, and a table of contents

¹ Noted by Boase and Courtney, *Bibl. Cornub.*, vol. ii, pp. 798 ff.

covering 17 leaves. A part of Caxton's prohome is here given:¹

'And that other book is named Polychronycon in whiche book ben comprised briefly many wonderful historyees. Fyrst the descripcion of the vniuersal world as well in lengthe as in brede with the diuisions of countrees royaumes and empyres the noble cytees hye mountaynes famous ryuers merueyilles & wondres, & also the historical Actes & Wonderful dedes syth the fyrst makyng of heuen & erth vnto the begynnyng of the regne of Kyng edward the fourth, & vnto the yere of our lord MCCCCLX. As by thayde of almyghty god shal folowe al a longe after the composynge & gaderynge of dan Ranulph Monke of Chestre fyrste auctour of this book, and afterward englysshed by one Trevisa vycarye of barkley which atte request of one Sir thomas lord barkley translated this sayd book the byble & bartylmew de proprietatibus rerum out of latyn into englyssh. And now at this tyme symply emprynted & sette in forme by me William Caxton and a lytel embelysshed fro tholde makyng, and also haue added suche storyes as I coude fro thende that the said Ranulph fynysshed his book which was the yere of our lord MCCCCLVII vnto the yere of the same MCCCCLX, whiche ben an hundred & thre yere whiche werke I haue fynysshed vnder the noble protection of my most drad natural and souerayne lord and moost cristen Kyng Kyng Edward the fourth humbly besechyng his moost noble grace to pardone me yf ony thyng be sayd therynne of Ignoraunce or other wyse than it ought to be. . . .'

The Latin *Polychronicon* as well as Trevisa's translation contain seven books, carrying the events down to 1357. From the above it will be seen that Caxton, in an eighth book, carried on the history to 1460. At the end of 'Liber Septimus' Caxton has the following colophon:²

'God be thanked of al his dedes. This translacion is ended on a thursdaye the eyghtenthe daye of Apryll the yere of our lord a thousand thre honderd and LVII, the XXXI yere of kyng Edward the thyrd after the Conquest of England, the yere of my lordes age Syr thomas lord of berkley that made me make this translacion fyue and thyrtyty.'

At the end of 'Liber Septimus' Caxton places his epilogue.

¹ W. Blades, *Life and Typography of Caxton*, 2 vols., 1861-3, vol. i, p. 194. Also Rolls Series, vol. viii, p. 352; Ames, *Typ. Antiq.*, ed. Dibdin, vol. i, p. 143.

² Blades, *Life of Caxton*, vol. i,

Then he writes 'Liber Ultimus', carrying the history from 1357 to 1460. His epilogue or apology is as follows: ¹

'Thus endeth the book named Proloconycon made & compiled by Ranulph monk of chestre whiche ordeyned it in latyn & atte request of the ryght worshipful lord Thomas lord of berkeley it was translated in to englysshe by one Treuisa thenne vycarye of the Paryssh of barkley: and for as moche as syth the accomplysshement of this sayd booke made by the sayd Ranulph ended the yere of oure lord MCCCCLVII many thynges haue fallen whiche ben requysyte to be added to this werke by cause mennes wyttes in this tyme ben oblyuous and lyghtly forgeten many thyngys dygne to be putte in memorye and also there can not be founden in these dayes but fewe that wryte in theyr registryres suche thynges as dayly happen and falle: therfore I, William Caxton, a simple persone haue endeouyred me to wryte fyrst ouer all the sayd booke of proloconycon and som what haue chaunged the rude and old englyssh that is to wete certayn wordes which in these dayes be neither vsyd ne vnderstanden & furthermore haue put it in empyrnte to thende that it maye be had & the maters therein comprised to be knowen for the boke is general touchyng shortly many notable maters & also am auysed to make another booke after this sayd werke whiche shal be sett here after the same And shal haue his chapytres & his table a parte For I dar not presume to sette my booke ne ioine hit to his for dyuerse causes one is for as moche as I haue not ne can gete no bokes of auctoryte treatyng of suche cronykes except a lytel boke named fasciculus temporum and another callyde Aureus de Vniuerso in whiche bookes I fynde ryght lytel mater syth the sayde tyme § And another cause is for as moche as my rude sympleness and ignorant makyng ought not to be compared set ne ioyned to his boke Thenne I shal by the grace of god set my werke after a parte for to accomplysse the yeres syth that he fynysshed his booke vnto the yere of our lord MCCCCLx and the fyrst yere of the Regne of Kyng edward the fourthe whiche amounte to an honderd and thre yere.'

II. 1495. *Printed by Wynkyn de Worde.*

The following notice appears in Dibdin,² as No. 90: 'Poly-cronycon: ended the thyrteenth daye of Apryll, the tenth yere of the regne of kyng Harry the seuenth, And of the

¹ See Blades, vol. i, p. 194; pp. 147, 148.

Dibdin's Ames, *Typ. Antiq.*, vol. i, ² Ibid., vol. ii, p. 49.

Incarnacyon of our Lord MCCCCLXXXV. Enprynted by Wynkyn Theworde, at Westmestre, Folio.' Boase and Courtney¹ give this notice :—'Polycronycon. (Made and compyled by Ranulph, Monke of Chestre . . . in Latyn and . . . translated into Englysshe by (J.) Trevisa.) In seuen books, "the rude and olde englyssh somewhat chaunged," by W. Caxton and an eighth book containing a continuation from 1357 to 1460 added by him. Edited by Wynkyn The worde 1495, fol.'

de Worde used Caxton's edition,² and even his proheme, except he substitutes his own name for that of the modernizer, and instead of mentioning the continuation of the history to 1460, de Worde promises to continue it to 'Henry ye Seuenth ye yere of his regne & vnto the yere of our lord MCCCCLXXXV, which ben an C & XXXVIII yere, which werke (says he) I haue fynyshed vnder the noble protecyon of my moost drad naturall and souerayne lorde & most crysten Kynge, Kynge Henry the seuenth.' The work, however, was not continued any further by W. de Worde. He closes with Caxton's colophon and conclusion as given above.

III. 1527. *Printed by Peter Treveris.*

This is a reimpression of de Worde's edition. Dibdin³ gives a full description of it under No. 751, and says, 'the title-page is perhaps the most magnificent title-page of which the early annals of English printing can boast'. The following imprint is found on a separate leaf at the end: 'Imprinted in Southwerke by me Peter Treveris at ye expences of John Reynes boke seller at the sygne of Saynt George in Poules Chyrch-yarde, the yere of our lorde god MCCCC and XXVII, the XVI daye of Maye.' The following notice is given by Boase and Courtney:—'Polycronycon (translated intoo Englyshe by (J.) Trevisa). (In seven books, "the rude and olde Englysshe somewhat chaunged," and an eighth book containing a continuation from 1357 to 1460 added by Wm. Caxton.) Peter Treveris, Imprinted in Southwerk, fol.'⁴

¹ Op. cit., vol. ii, p. 798.

² Ames, vol. i, p. 138.

³ Op. cit., vol. iii, p. 40. It is

also described in *Brit. Bibl.*, vol. iii, p. 349.

⁴ Op. cit., vol. ii, p. 798.

IV. *The Rolls Series*, 1865-86. 9 vols.

Vols. i and ii and introduction by Churchill Babington; vols. iii-ix by J. R. Lumby. The editors print the MS. in St. John's College, Camb. H. 1, and collate with it Caxton's edition and MS. Add. 24194. Beginning with vol. ii, they make some use in collation of MSS. Harl. 1900 and Cotton Tib. D. vii.¹ As noted above, p. xv, a selection from Harl. 1900 is printed in Appendix, vol. vii. Babington and Lumby, in addition to the Latin text, print a fifteenth-century MS., viz. Harl. 2261. It is different from the translation of Trevisa, and continues the history to 1401.²

Extracts from the *Polychronicon* have been printed and may be found as follows:

1. *Specimens of Early English*: Morris and Skeat, Part II, 1889, pp. 235-47.

(A) Description of Britain. Lib. I, cap. 41 and 42, vol. ii, pp. 13-31 of Rolls Series.

(B) De Incolarum Linguis. Lib. I, cap. 59, vol. ii, pp. 157-63 of Rolls Series.

(C) The Norman Invasion. Lib. VI, cap. 29, vol. vii, pp. 233-45 of Rolls Series.

These extracts are taken from MS. Cotton Tiberius D. vii, leaf 38, back. The Editors omit the name Trevisa, usually found before his additions. See notes, however, p. 344.

2. *A Middle English Reader*: O. F. Emerson, 1905, rev. ed., 1921, pp. 220-5.

(A) The Inhabitants of Britain. Bk. I, chap. 58, vol. ii, pp. 143-57 of Rolls Series.

(B) The Languages of the Inhabitants. Bk. I, chap. 59, vol. ii, pp. 157-63 of Rolls Series.

This is taken from MS. Cotton Tiberius D. vii. The editor omits the name Trevisa, but indicates the omission in a footnote.

¹ Miss Greenwood (*Camb. Hist. of English Lit.*, vol. ii, p. 444) states that the MS. at Burleigh House was used. I have not been able to

ascertain that this is correct. There is no mention of the Burleigh House MS. by Babington and Lumby.

² *Cat. of Harl. MSS.*, vol. ii, p. 596.

3. *Altenglische Sprachproben*: Eduard Matzner, 1867, vol. i, pt. 2, pp. 341–73.

De Graecia et eius prouinciis. Lib. I, cap. 22, vol. i, pp. 175–99 of Rolls Series.

De Italia. Lib. I, cap. 23, vol. i, pp. 199–207 of Rolls Series.

De Urbe Romana. Lib. I, cap. 24, vol. i, pp. 207–39 of Rolls Series.

De quibusdam Romanorum. Lib. I, cap. 25, vol. i, pp. 239–53 of Rolls Series.

From St. John's College, Camb. MS. H. 1.

4. *Die Sprache des 'Polychronicon' John Trevisa's*: Bernhard Pfeffer, 1912, pp. 99–144.

Lib. VI, cap. 29 (near end)—Lib. VII, cap. 12 (part)—vol. vii, pp. 245–421 of Rolls Series.

From MS. Cotton Tiberius D. vii, ff. 246–60 b.

5. Part of fol. 94 b, Harl. MS. 1900, printed by Blades,¹ showing contrast with Caxton's text.

6. *Altenglisches Lesebuch*: R. P. Wülker, vol. ii, pp. 205–8.

De Incolarum Linguis, MS. Harleian 1900. Reprinted from Rolls Series, ii. 157.

(Of Allemeyne or Germany, from the later translation of Higden, MS. Harleian 2261, Wülker ii, pp. 209–10. Reprinted from Rolls Series, i. 255 ff.)

7. *English Prose (1137–1890)*: Dr. John M. Manly, 1909, pp. 11–12.

De incolarum linguis. Book I, chap. 59, vol. ii, pp. 157–63 of Rolls Series.

This is printed from St. John's College, Camb. MS. H. 1, and the name Trevisa indicating his additions is not omitted, as in Emerson, and Morris and Skeat.

8. Fly-leaf, vol. ii, Rolls *Polychronicon*, a facsimile of a page from B.M. Add. 24194, containing one of Trevisa's notes, and his conception of Noah's ark. The same passage is found in St. John's Coll. Camb. MS. H. 1, in the text, p. 229, l. 17, a wylde beste—p. 235, l. 9, clere i-now there it was. Higden, Lib. II, cap. 5.

¹ Wm. Blades, *Biog. and Typ. of Wm. Caxton*, 1897, p. 258.

Date of completion, 1357 or 1387.

Each of the four MSS. examined gives the date on which Trevisa finished his translation, April 18, 1387.¹ The Cotton MS. agrees:² 'Thys translacyon ys yended in a thorsday the eyzetūthe day of Aueryl & the 3er of vr lord a thousand thre hondred vour score & seuene the tnethe 3ere of Kyng Rychard the second.'

On the other hand, evidence for 1357 comes first from Smyth's *Lives of the Berkeleys*:³ 'God be thanked for all his deeds. This translation is ended on thursday the 18th of Aprill 1357, the 31st year of King Edward the third, the year of my lords age, Sr. Thomas lord Berkeley that made mee make this translation, the 65th.' Caxton gives the same year, but changes the age of Lord Berkeley from 65 to 35. The following is the conclusion of Trevisa's translation of Bartholomeus *de proprietatibus Rerum* as given by Smyth:⁴ 'Endles grace, blisse and thankinge to our lord God alweldinge these translations ended at Berkeley the sixth day of February the year of our lord 1398, the year of King Richard the second after the conquest of England, the 22nd. The year of my lords age Sr. Thomas lord of Berkeley that made me make this translation the 47th.'

According to Smyth, as has been shown before, Trevisa was at Berkeley during the rule of three of the lords, viz. Thomas, 8th lord, Maurice, 9th lord, and Thomas, 10th lord. Thomas, 8th lord, was born in 1293,⁵ and thus was 65 at the time of the completion of the *Polychronicon* in 1357, as stated in Smyth. Thomas, 10th lord, was born in 1352,⁶ and thus was 47 years of age at the finishing of Barth. *de Prop. Rerum* in 1398, as stated by Smyth, and as given in the MSS. Smyth is thus consistent in his dates. He claims also that Trevisa was at Berkeley some time during the rule of Lord Thomas 8th,

¹ Harleian 1900; St. John's College H. 1; Stowe 65; Burleigh House MS.; Chetham's, incomplete.

² Herbert's Ames's *Typ. Antiq.*, vol. i, p. 140.

³ Smyth's *Lives of the Berkeleys*, ed.

MacLean, vol. i, p. 343.

⁴ MacLean's ed., vol. ii, p. 22.

⁵ Smyth's *Lives*, and *Berkeley Castle*, by G. T. Clark (*Bristol and Gloucester Trans.* 1876), p. 115.

⁶ Smyth's *Lives of the Berkeleys*, vol. ii, p. 2.

who died in 1361 (see above). We know that Trevisa had not received his appointment as Vicar in 1360. Ames,¹ in discussing this matter, uses the entry from Caxton, making the age of Sir Thomas 35. He then continues:

'The year 1357, indeed, is the last date expressly mentioned in this Polycronycon, but the history is continued for some years after, viz. to the peace between England and France; but without any date. It is evident the dates there given are not concordant, for the 18th of April 1357, was not on Thursday, but Tuesday; also, the year of Lord Berkeley's age does not agree with that given in the colophon to Bartholomeus de Proprietatibus Rerum, printed by W. de Worde, in which we are informed that it was translated by Trevisa, and finished 26 Feb. 1398, the year of Lord Berkleys Age XLVII. So that the true reading, or time when Trevisa finished the translation of the Polychronycon will be according to the Cottonian MS.' (quoted p. lxxxiv).

Babington² agrees with Ames, and, like Ames, refers to Caxton's entry. He says, 'Caxton (fol. 389 b) falsely makes Trevisa's translation end in 1357.' After giving the entry he proceeds:

'The true date is 1387, and Caxton's error has been corrected in the Harleian MSS. Catalogue (n. 1900) and in the general introduction to the Monumenta Historica Britannica, p. 4. The last date mentioned in Trevisa's text is 1357; hence, perhaps, Caxton's mistake; but the chronicle is continued to the year 1360.'

Cooke, on the other hand, thinks the 1357 date the correct one. In a note to an article, 'on the Ancient Inscriptions in the chapel at Berkeley Castle, with some account of John Trevisa,'³ he says: 'Prof. Babington, on the authority of a MS. in the Bodleian Library,'⁴ makes this date 1387. It is probable, however, that this is a clerical error, or perhaps a later copy in which the scribe has altered the date to correspond with Thomas IV, 10th Lord Berkeley, grandson of Thomas III. Smyth, quoting perhaps from Trevisa's original MS., thus fixes

¹ Herbert's ed. of Ames's *Typ. Antiq.*, vol. i, p. 140.

² Rolls Series of *Polychronicon*, vol. i, lxii.

³ *Transactions of Bristol and Glou-*

cester Arch. Society, 1876, vol. i, p. 138.

⁴ Harleian MS. 1900, in British Museum.

the date' (see ending as given by Smith above, p. lxxxiv). Cooke bases his claim solely on Smyth's entry, on the ground that perhaps he possessed the original Trevisa. This work should be correct. The lives have been supposed to be written by John Smyth of Nibley, based on the Berkeley MSS. 1066-1618. And yet he places the death of Trevisa ten years later than it actually happened, even basing his statement on the Worcester Episcopal Register.¹ If Smyth's work is a fabrication he has made his dates coincide.

We readily agree with Ames and Babington that Caxton changed the date from 1387 to 1357, to make it agree with the last date in the work. This is his 'embellishing' carried to the extreme. He doubtless did this, as he gives the age of Lord Berkeley 35, as in the MSS., not 65, as in Smyth.

One other bit of evidence is forthcoming, which proves beyond a doubt the authenticity of the date 1387. This comes from Trevisa himself, and is to be found in one of his additions, or explanatory notes, or interpolations, of which there are numbers in the *Polychronicon*, and which occasionally are to be found in some of his other translations. The passage is in *Polychronicon*, Book I, chapter 59,² dealing with the language of the people of England. Part of Trevisa's note reads thus (taken from St. John's Coll. MS. H. 1):

'þis manere was moche i-vised to for firste deth and is sippe sumdel i-chaunged; for John Cornwaile a master of Grammer, chaunged þe lore in gramer scole and construccion of Frensche in to Engliche; and Richard Pencerliche lerned þe manere techynge of hym and of opere men of Penrich; so þat now, þe zere of oure Lorde a þowsand þre hundred and foure score and fyue, and of þe secounde Kyng Richard after þe conquest nyne, in alle þe gramere scoles of Engeland, children leueþ Frensche and construeþ and lerneþ an Engliche, and haueþ þerby auauntage in oon side and disauauntage in anoþer side', &c.

¹ See discussion of his death, p. lxxiv.

² Rolls Series of *Polychronicon*, vol. ii, p. 161. Same passage in Emerson, p. 224; Morris and Skeat, Part II, p. 241; Manly's *Prose*, p. 12. See also article by W. H.

Stevenson, 'The Introduction of English as the vehicle of Instruction in English Schools', in *An English Miscellany*, p. 421. He also quotes the passage. Dr. Hickeys quotes it in 'Praefatio' to his *Thesaurus*, vol. i, p. xvii.

Thus, in 1385, Trevisa was still writing the first book of the *Polychronicon*. Tanner¹ refers to this as follows:

'Versionem ad finem perduxit, uti ex nota calci annexa patet, A. MCCCLXXXVII (rectius iuxta Cod. Cotton MCCCLXXXV) die Aprilis, [uti MS. nota ad finem MS. Cotton. In MS. Tenisoniano nota Trevisae, in lib. i, cap. 59. De desuetudine linguae Gallicae, vocat annum praesentem MCCCLXV, (ut male habet codex impressus) 9 Rich. II, qui est A. MCCCLXXXV].'

Ames,² in closing his discussion of this date, says: 'That Trevisa was living and wrote 9 Rich. 2, see Poly. Lib. 1, cap. LIX.'

(2) De Proprietatibus Rerum.

This is 'the Great Cyclopaedia of the Middle Ages', the noted work of Bartholomew Anglicus, or Bartholomew de Glanville (1230-50).³ The date is uncertain. It was known in Italy in 1283, known and prized in Paris 1297 and 1329. It was known in England in 1296, as is proved by a MS. at Oxford (Ashmole 1512) which was copied in November of that year. The facts are arranged in nineteen books, with a religious and moral object. It was first printed at Basle about 1470, and went through fourteen or more editions before 1500; it was translated into French 1372, and was translated into English from the Latin in 1398 by John Trevisa, for Lord Thomas, 10th Lord of Berkeley.⁴ This translation is preserved in the following MSS.:

(a) Helmingham Hall, Stowmarket, Suffolk. This was examined in 1874 by Arthur J. Horwood for the Royal Commission on Historical MSS.⁵ His description is brief: 'Trevisa's translation into English of Bartholomew de Glanville's work, "De proprietatibus rerum", a superb MS. in folio, with illuminated letters and marginal ornaments: parchment, 14th century. It commences with 24 lines of verse, not in the printed edition.'⁶

¹ Op. cit., p. 721.

² Herbert's ed., vol. i, p. 40.

³ For life see *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*, vol. xxi, p. 409.

⁴ See ending, p. lxxxviii.

⁵ Hist. MSS. Com. Report I, App., pp. 60-1.

⁶ In a letter dated July 1, 1914, Lady Tollemache of Helmingham Hall, was kind enough to invite me

Rogers,¹ in his article on Trevisa, tells us that Mr. Tolle-mache exhibited this beautiful medieval Encyclopaedia at the annual meeting of the Archaeological Institute, at Bury St. Edmunds, July 1869.

(b) Harleian MS. 614.² The notice in the *Catalogue* is very brief and incomplete. The writer finishes his description when he describes Harl. 4789. The description under 614 is: 'A parchment book in folio, fairly written, containing an English translation of Bartholomaeus de Proprietatibus rerum, made at Berkeley, at the influence of Thomas Lord Berkeley, about A. D. 1398, perhaps by John Trevisa. At the end of the contents of the chapters, which are written at the beginning of the Book, is a short song, or copy of the verses made by the Trans.'

(c) Harleian MS. 4789.³ An imperfect copy ending in the 46th chapter of the nineteenth book. The complete copy has 146 chapters. The compiler here tells us that No. 614 is complete, and gives its ending because of the importance of the dates, as follows:

'Eendeless grete bliss & thankynge to our Lord God alweel-dynge; these translacyons eendid at Berkeley the sixte day of Feuer, the zheer of our Lorde a thousynde three hundrid four-score & XVIII; the zheer of Kyng Rychard the secunde after the conquest of Yngeland, the 22 zheer. And of my lordis age, Sire Thomas lord of Berkeley, that made me make this translacyon XLVII.'

(d) Additional 27944.⁴ Folio, vellum. Beg. XV. Verses at first beginning:

Troys was maad al of reed.
In þe bigynnyng of my book
That is clepid god me spede
In þe firste lessoun þat I took.

to go to Stowmarket and examine the MSS. This was found impossible. In answer to a recent letter, her secretary, Miss E. Lynd, writes that the MSS. have been removed to a place of safety because of the war.

¹ *Journ. of R. Inst. of Corn.*, No. XI, Apr. 1870.

² *Cat. of Harl. MSS.*, vol. i, p. 390.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. iii, p. 205.

⁴ *Cat. of Additions to Brit. Mus.*, 1854-1875, vol. ii, p. 382.

I give the ending to show the difference in spelling between the MSS. :

‘Endeles grace blisse and ponkyng to oure lord god all weldyng. Þise translasiouns I-endede at Berkeleye the sixte day of ffeuerer. The ȝere of oure lorde a thousande þre hundred foure score and eiyteten : The yeere of Kyng Richarde the secunde after the conqeste of Englonde two and twenty. The ȝere of my lordes age Sire Thomas lord of Berkeley that made me make this translacioun seuene and forty.’

Then follows a list of authors quoted in the work.¹

Rogers, referring to this work, says that Watt in his *Bibl. Brit.* gives no less than nine editions of the book, inclusive of the translation into English by Thomas Berthelet, the edition of Wynkyn de Worde 1498, in double columns, in nineteen books, and the reprinted edition by Batman 1585. In regard to the latter edition this reference is found: ‘Batman uppon Bartholome, his Booke, De Prop. Rerum, newly corrected, enlarged, and amended, with such additions as are requisite unto every severall book. London 1582. Fol.’

The three editions are described by Tanner, and by Boase and Courtney.² Tanner: ‘Wynkyn de Worde, circa MCCCCXCIV : Tho. Berthelet, Lond. MDXXXV ; Et tandem correct. et auctius a Steph. Batman, Lond. MDLXXXII.’ Boase and Courtney give two editions by Worde : (1) ‘Bartholomeus De Proprietatibus rerum. Translated into English by John Trevisa (woodcuts), Westminster, by Wynkyn de Worde (1494) fol.’ (2) ‘Bartholomew de proprietatibus rerum (Translated into English by John Trevisa), 2 parts, Black Letters (Wynkyn de Worde ; Westminster, 1495 ?), 4o.’ It is deposited in the Grenville Library, British Museum. In the Prohemium is the following: ‘And John Tate the younger mote he broke which late hath in Englonde doo make this paper thynne That now in our Englyssh this boke is prynted Inne.’ Concerning No. 2, a note states that this copy was bequeathed to the British Museum by Sir Joseph Banks, and that it is

¹ I was unable to find a record of any MS. at Burleigh House, as Miss Greenwood suggests (*Camb.*

Hist. of Eng. Lit., vol. ii, p. 444.

² *Bibl. Cornub.*, vol. ii, p. 798.

amongst the early printed books exhibited in a case in the King's Library. The next Englishman to print this work was Berthelet. Boase and Courtney have the following: 'Anno MDXXXV. Bartholomeus de proprietatibus rerum. Londini in aedibus Thomae Bertholeti regii impressoris cum privilegio a rege Hn. VIII (1535), fol.' In a note the ordinary ending is given, but this curious statement is added: 'A MS. in Berkeley castle says the translation was finished 18 April 1357, the 31st Edw. III, and in the 65th year of the age of Syre Thomas, lord Berkeley.'¹ The entry in regard to Batman reads thus: 'Batman vppon Bartholome his booke De Proprietatibus rerum, newly corrected, enlarged and amended with such additions as are requisite vnto euery seuerall booke taken foorth of the most approued authors, the like here to fore not translated in English. Profitable for all estates as well for the benefite of the mind as the bodie, 1582. Lond. imprinted by Thomas East, dwelling by Paules Wharfe, fol.'² Dr. Furnivall, in his edition of Thomas Vicary's *Anatomie of the Bodie of Man* (E.E.T.S., Extra Series, liii, 1888), quotes fifteen or more lines from Berthelet's 1535 ed., Bk. V, of *de Prop. Rerum*. He begins his note: 'Hear Bartholomeus de Glanvilla (*de Proprietatibus Rerum*, in John Trevisa's English) on Members simple.'

A new edition by Dr. R. von Fleischhacker is promised by the E.E.T.S. in the Extra Series.

A facsimile page of Wynkyn de Worde's edition, parts of caps. 67 and 68 of Book XVIII, is to be found in vol. i, p. 202, of Garnett and Gosse's *Illustrated History of English Literature*.

Various sections from this work have been collected and edited under the title *Medieval Lore from Bartholomaeus Anglicus*, by Robert Steele, 1893 and 1900. Mr. Steele lists ninety-four sources of the book, and also lists the various editions with dates as follows: Latin, twenty-one editions from 1480-1609; Dutch, two editions, 1479 and 1485; French, twenty-one

¹ This is evidently a mistake. Boase and Courtney must refer to the ending of the *Polychronicon* as given in the Berkeley MSS. (Smyth's *Lives of the Berkeleys*).

² Copies of Berthelet and Bat-

man are in the British Museum and Bodleian; in British Mus. numbered 456 a. 1 and 456 b. 15; in Bodleian, Douce B, subt. 292, and Douce B, subt. 28.

editions, from 1482-1556; Spanish, two editions, 1494 and 1529; English, by John of Trevisa in 1397, three editions: (1) no date, at Westminster, printed by W. de Worde; (2) 1535, at London, printed by Berthelet; (3) 1582, at London, printed by East. (Steele's 1907 edition is in the King's Classics Series.)

(3) The Gospel of Nicodemus.

This translation of Nicodemus, *de Passione Christi*, was not known to Pits, Bale, or Tanner. It is not given in Dibdin's list. Blades first mentions it in vol. ii of his *Life of Wm. Caxton*, published 1861.¹ He also refers to the MS. usually listed Add. 16165. Rogers missed it in his otherwise complete list in 1870, but in his article of 1874 refers to it thus: 'A work of Trevisa's, previously unnoticed, viz. "Nichodemus' treatise on the passion of Christ", which is to be found in the British Museum Shirley's MSS. Additional 16156,² mentioned by Mr. J. Rawson Lumby at p. xxviii of his Introduction to vol. iii of the Master of Rolls Edition of Higden.' This notice by Lumby was in 1871. Boase and Courtney³ refer to it in the words of the *Catalogue of Additions to MSS. in the British Museum*:⁴ 'The translacon of Nichodeme (i.e. Nichodemi pseud.-Evangelium de passione et resurrectione Jesu Christi) out of latyn into englisshe laboured by Maystre Johan Trevisa, doctour in theologie, at the instaunce of Thomas, some tyme lord of Berkley, fol. 94 b.' They (B. and C.) also give the wrong number 16156. A study of the MSS. has been made by Prof. W. H. Hulme, Western Reserve University, in his edition of the poetical Gospel of Nicodemus for E.E.T.S., Extra Series C, 1907, pp. xxxii ff. He lists nine prose MSS. of the Gospel in Middle English, and thinks that others may be found. The MSS. as listed are: (1) Magdalen College, Cambridge, Pepys 2498 (pp. 459-63); (2) Brit. Mus., Egerton

¹ Op. cit. He noticed that Dibdin in *Typ. Ant.*, vol. i, p. 140, did not list it.

² Mistake of 16156 for 16165. He copied from Lumby, who has the same mistake.

³ *Bibl. Cornub.*

⁴ *Cat. of MSS. of Additions, 1846-1847*, p. 155. For another description of this MS. see Miss Hammond's article, 'The Departing of Chaucer', *Mod. Phil.*, vol. i, pp. 331-6.

2658 (ff. 15 b-18); (3) Stonyhurst College, B. xliii (ff. 83-96); (4) Salisbury Cathedral Library, 39 (ff. 129 b-147); (5) Brit. Mus. Additional 16165 (ff. 94 b-114 b); (6) Oxford, Bodleian 207 (ff. 120 b-124); (7) Brit. Mus. Harley 149 (ff. 255-76); (8) Worcester Cathedral Library, No. 172 (ff. 4-16); (9) Cambridge Univ. Library, mm. 1, 29 (ff. 8-16). The MSS. group themselves thus: (a) Egerton, Stonyhurst, Bodley; (b) Salisbury, Additional; (c) Pepys 2498; (d) Harley 149; (e) Worcester Cathedral; (f) Cambridge Univ. Library.

The Trevisa MSS. are the Salisbury and Additional, fully described by Prof. Hulme, pp. xl-xlvi.¹ The Additional MS. 16165 is a quarto containing 258 leaves, all of which, excepting the first three and the last one, are paper. The vellum leaves are a little smaller than the others, measuring 11 × 8 inches; the paper ones measure 11½ × 8½ inches. It belongs to about 1450, and is written in the hand of John Shirley. Over the top of 94 b and 95 a the following is written, in the same hand as the MS., 'pe passyoun of oure Lord ihesu translated by mayster John Treuysa'; over 95 b and 96 a is written, 'The passyoun of Jhu Cryst by Nichodemus'; over the other pages merely 'The Passyoun of Nichodemus'. Shirley ascribes this work to Trevisa, for near the beginning, f. 94 b, he writes: 'Maistre Johan Treuysa hape here in mynde pat some tyme pe Greekes maden Ioustes and tournementes', &c. In the Salisbury MS. we have: 'Here haue muynde, pat sumtyme pe Greces made Iustes and tornementes and oper Pleyes of Maysterye etc.' Trevisa has only one of his comments in this work, found in both the Additional and Salisbury at the same place. In Additional it is found on fol. 112, where he gives a definition of 'Alleluya'. Beg. at fol. 112, a few sentences including Trevisa's addition:

'And our lord put forthe (f. 112) his honde and made pe signe of pe croys, ouer Adam, and alle pe holy seyntes, and helde Adam by pe right hande and went vp out of helle, and alle pe holy seyntes folowed oure lord panne Dauid cryed strongelich, and seyde singe pe to oure lorde nowe a nuwe

¹ I examined only Add. 16165. Prof. Hulme, some years ago, transcribed the nine MSS. as well as de Worde's edition. He has been

most kind in loaning me three of these transcriptions, viz. Additional, Salisbury, and Harl. 149, for the purposes of my study.

songe for he haþe edoone merueylles and wonders, he haþe esaued his right-syde and his holy arme, oure lorde haþe emade his sauacoun eknowe in þe sight of nacouns he haþe shewed his rightwysnesse and seyde, þis is ioie and blisse to alle his holy seyntes amen, Alleluya. *Trevysa*,¹ Alleluya is to meene preyse ye and heryeþe god alle at oones, and also lorde saue þowe me. And hit haþe menynges also as dyuers Auctours tellen þanne hit foloweþe in þe booke, here after. Abacus seyde. . . .

The same passage from Salisbury, f. 141 a (near end):

'*And oure lord pute forþ ys hond and made þe syngne of þe croys ouer adam and alle þe holy seyntus and huld adam by þe ryzt hond and wente vp oute of helle and alle þe holy seyntus folwede oure lord þanne David cride stronglych and seyde syng 3e to oure lord a newe song for he haþ ydo merueylus and wondrus he haþ ysewed hys ryzt seyde and hys holy Arm oure lord haþ ymad ys sauacoun yknowe in (f. 144 b) seyzt of nacouns he haþ yschewed hys ryztwysnesse and al þe multitude of seyntus answered and seyde þys ys Ioye and blysse to all hys holy seyntus amen alleluia *teruisa*² amen ys to mene so mot hyt be alleluia hys to mene prayse 3e and heryuþ god alle atonus and also lord saue þou me: and hyt haþ oper menyngus also as dyuerse aucterus telluþ þanne hyt folueþ in þe bok her aftur þe prophet Abacus cride and seyde. . . .*

In none of the other seven MSS. do we find this addition. In Harl. 149 is the reading: 'thys ys the glorye to alle Sayntes Amen, Alleluia, Than cryed Abacuch the prophete and seyde, etc.'

Hulme prints (p. xlv) a part of f. 94 b of Add. 16165. He also mentions the early Black Letter edition of the English Gospel of Nicodemus (p. lvii). He mentions the 1507 edition by Julyan Notary, London; Wynkyn de Worde, 1509; John Skat, London, 1529. The de Worde version is the most magnificent. Prof. Hulme, who looked into the matter, says:³ 'Now, a casual comparison of the prologue, and the beginning and conclusion of the text with those of the Trevisa version (MS. Add. 16165), shows that no other connexion can possibly exist between the two versions than that of being different translations of one and the same story.' Prof. Hulme thinks

¹ Beg. 'Trevysa', ends 'here after'—is Trevisa's addition. —is Trevisa's addition.

³ Op. cit., p. lviii.

² Beg. 'teruisa', ends 'her aftur'

the original of de Worde's text is to be found among the numerous Latin MSS. of the *Evang. Nicod.*, preserved in English libraries.¹

(4) De Re Militari and De Regimine Principum.

Trevisa's translation of the two works we are now to consider have been questioned. They are not spoken of by Pits or Bale. Tanner is the first writer to mention them. He seems sure that Trevisa translated them. Note his reasons: 'In Cod. Bodl. Digby 233, est translatio Vegetii *de re militari*. Pr. "In olde tyme it was the manere." Haec verisimiliter Trevisae debetur, quia facta erat ad mandatum dom. Tho. Berkley: A MCCCCVIII in vigilia Omnium Sanctorum finita. In eodem codice simili manu habetur translatio, cum eleganti pictura monachi regi librum dantes, Aegidii Romani *de regimine principum*. Pr. "To hys special, etc. politik sentence that is." ' Dibdin merely notices them in his list. The Rev. Jas. Townley in 1821 lists them.² Babington,³ after mentioning the MS. Digby 233 at Bodleian, and saying that the work was composed at the request of Lord Berkeley and finished in 1408, concludes: 'This is reasonably presumed to be executed by Trevisa, as well as a translation of Aegidius Romanus' *De Regimine Principum*, contained in the same volume.'⁴ Rogers lists them as Trevisa's without doubt or comment. Cooke, in his Trevisa article in 1876 for the *Transactions* of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society, regards it as Trevisa's last work, finished in 1408, four years before his death at the age of 90. He says: 'The translation of Vegetius has been attributed to Hoccleve, from a copy of it in the Bodleian Library being bound up with Hoccleve's *De Regimine Principis*. The characteristic dedication, however, at its conclusion, sufficiently proves its true authorship.' Cooke gives the dedication thus: 'To us alle God graunt grace of our offen-

¹ Op. cit., lix. I glanced into a great number of these Latin MSS. in the Brit. Mus., Bodl., and Univ. of Camb. Libraries.

² *Illustrations of Biblical Lit.*, vol. ii, pp. 49-55.

³ C. L. Kingsford, *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*, vol. lvii, p. 212, refers to these works in about the same manner as Babington.

⁴ Rolls Series of Higden's *Polychronicon*, vol. i, p. lv.

dyngge, space to our amendynge, and his face to be seen at our endyng. Amen.'¹

Boase and Courtney² refer to both of them as MS. Bodl. Lib. Digby 233, and in a note says: '*De re Militari* was composed at Lord Berkeley's request and finished in 1408. It is sometimes said to have been done by Trevisa, but from the account in H. O. Coxe's *Catalogus Codicum MSS. qui in Collegiis Aulisque Oxon. adservantur* (1852), ii. 19, of another copy at Magdalen College, Oxford, the translation would seem to have been executed by Clifton.' Coxe, in describing the Magdalen MS. 30, has it, 'e Latino in Anglicum Sermonem, versi per Clifton quendam, iussu Thomae domini Berkeley'.³ He also gives the prologue and ending. The name Clif or Cleftoun was first given by Francis Douce.⁴ He was followed by Caley in describing one of the Vegetius MSS., viz. B.M. Lansdowne 285. Macray is of the same opinion.⁵ F. Madan, the late Librarian of Bodley, in his examination of the manuscripts, suggests Bannerton.⁶ The most recent and perhaps most valuable note on the authorship of this work is by Prof. H. N. MacCracken, in an article entitled *Vegetius in English*, written for the Kittredge Anniversary Papers, published 1913.⁷ Prof. MacCracken gives the various guesses to date, has some remarks about the meaning of the word Trevisa, and lists, with important notes, the nine known English MSS. Very significant is his discussion of the Trevisa authorship from internal evidence (p. 393). His notes comparing Vegetius with *Polychronicon*, although brief, are important. As he says: 'So closely does the Vegetius conform in style, dialect, and vocabulary to the acknowledged work of John Trevisa, that it is hard to believe any other had a hand in it.'⁸ Prof. MacCracken continues: 'The mystery under present knowledge, seems insoluble, and may

¹ Compare this with dedication mistaken from the MS., below, p. xcvi.

² *Bibl. Cornub.*, vol. ii, p. 798.

³ *Cat. Cod. MSS. qui in Coll. Aulisque Oxon. adservantur*, by H. O. Coxe, 1852, vol. ii, p. 19.

⁴ Caley's *Cat. of Lansdowne MSS.*

⁵ Rev. Wm. Dunn Macray, *Cat. Cod. MSS. Digby*, 1883, p. 248.

⁶ *Summary Catalogue of Western MSS.*, iv. 582.

⁷ See *Papers*, pp. 389-403.

⁸ After a study of months in the Trevisa material, and an examination of much of the Digby MS. 233, the present writer is of the same opinion.

be no clearer when a full comparison of the Vegetius with Trevisa's known work is made, for the writer believes it will only confirm the claim of identity here advanced.' So much for the various opinions as to authorship.

Tanner, who led the way in the Trevisa theory, based his claim on the Digby colophon, which runs thus :

'Here endeth þe book þat clerkes clepun in latyne Vigesijs de re militari þe book of Vigesijs of dedus of knyȝthod þe whiche book was translated & turned fro latyn in to englesch at þe ordinaunce & byddyng of þe worthi & worschepful lord sire Thomas of Berkeley to gret disport & dalyaunce of lordes & alle worthy werryours þat ben apassed by wey of age al labour & trauailling & to grete informacion & lernyng of yonge lordes & knyȝttes þat ben lusty & loueþ to here & see & to vse dedus of armes & chivalrye. Þe turnyng of þis book into englich was wreton & endud in vigile of al halwes þe ȝeer of oure lord, a þousand foure hundred & eiȝte þe X^e ȝeer of Kyng henry þe forþe. To him & to vs alle god graunt grace of oure offendynde space to oure amendinge & his face to seen at oure endyng. Amen. This is his name þat turned þis book fro latyn into Engliche

Worschepful  toun.'¹

The same colophon is found in MS. Magd. Coll. Oxf. 30,² but with 'worschepful' omitted, and cryptogram written thus :

 ton. The other changes are in spelling: clepeth for clepun, dedes for dedus, ended for endud, se for seen, viii.te for eiȝte, tenth for X^e, herry for henry, and usually *i* for *y* in many words. fols. 1-115, 15th cent., vellum, folio.

In MS. Bodley Douce 291, fols. 4-120, the colophon is the same but cryptogram thus :  ton. This MS. vellum, folio, mid-15th cent.

Bodl. Laud, Misc. 416, fols. 182-226, omits cryptogram, but contains colophon on date and patron. Modern.

¹ Colophon as copied from MS. Digby 233, f. 227, at Bodleian. MacCracken prints it, op. cit., p. 389. Vegetius follows *De Regimine Principum*, which runs for fols.

1-183, mid-15th cent.

² Printed by Coxo in *Cat. Cod. MSS. qui in Coll. Aulisque Oxon. adseruantur*, Part II, p. 30.

B.M. Royal 18 A. xii, fols. 1-123. Author's name omitted. Modernized.

B.M. Lansdowne 285, fols. 82-136. Colophon on date and patron, but not on author.¹

From this closing in Digby, which Tanner knew, he concludes, and with good ground, that Trevisa was the translator. For had not the Vicar of Berkeley concluded two famous translations, viz. *Polychronicon* 1387, and *De Prop. Rerum* 1398, in the same fashion, and at the bidding of the same Lord Berkeley, Thomas X? And, moreover, Tanner had evidence when he wrote that Trevisa was living and Vicar of Berkeley in 1408, and that he continued as such until his death, 1412. He gives as his authority Wharton's copy, purporting to be from the Worcester Registers, which copy is now deposited in Lambeth Palace Library.² The recent discovery of his death in 1402, instead of 1408, would seem to destroy utterly the Trevisa theory. There is but one saving clause, viz. that a late scribe might have written 1408, as a wrong date. This seems scarcely possible.

The counts against Trevisa as the translator are:

1. The newly found date of his death, 1402, instead of the heretofore accepted date, 1412. The colophon says the Vegetius was written and ended in 1408.

2. Trevisa in no other translation gives his signature in this form.

3. A careful reading of the Digby MS. 233, Vegetius, revealed none of the well-known Trevisa annotations or notes. These occur at every turn in the *Polychronicon*. There are over one hundred of them, covering some six hundred lines. Except in a few cases they are signed at the beginning 'Trevisa'. We find these notes also in *De Prop. Rerum*. Once he has a noted

¹ The other MSS. as noted by MacCracken are: (1) B.M. Add. 14408, fols. 49-66, no preface, and ends i. 28. Late 15th cent. 'Translated into Eng. by John Walton?' (*Cat. of Add. MSS. 1841-5*, p. 64). In same MS. *De Regimine Principis* or *Secretum Secretorum* in English verse.

(2) B.M. Sloane 2027, fols. 1-36. Ends iii. 24. Late 15th cent. (3) Petworth 6 (Duke of Northumberland) omits colophon. (Hist. MSS. Com., 6th Report, 289, Ap.)

² Wharton's MS. L, p. 637, ex. Reg. Wigorn., in Bibl. Lambeth.

annotation in the *Gospel of Nicodemus*, twice in *De Regimine Principum*, and even in his short translation of *Dialogus inter Militem et Clericum* he has a most interesting note. We might look for Trevisa notes in Vegetius, had he been the translator. The work is fairly long, covering fols. 183-227. There is excellent material for explanation and comment. A close comparison with the Latin original may reveal notes unsigned; such occur occasionally in the *Polychronicon*.¹

Vegetius
(5) De Regimine Principum.

This prose work of the Rule of Princes is found in one MS., viz. Bodleian Digby 233, covering fols. 1-182b (2). It is followed by Vegetius. Both are written in the same hand.

We have already, in connexion with Vegetius, noticed the comments in regard to this work. Cooke and others in the seventies regarded it as Hoccleve's; Boase and Courtney only remark, 'This translation is supposed to have been executed by Trevisa.' MacCracken regards it as Trevisa's. In naming MSS. of Vegetius under Digby he says: 'Follows translation by same author of *De Regimine Principum*.' Miss Greenwood mentions it in the Trevisa list, but questions it, as well as Vegetius.

We have no evidence of Trevisa's handiwork from the ending. There can be no controversy in that regard. It ends with no reference to patron, date, or author. It reads thus:

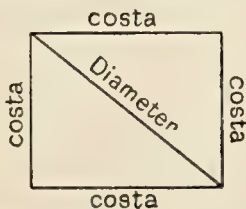
f. 182 b (2) 'panne 3if kynges & princes hauen riȝtful werre & bataille & 3if here enemys disturbe wrongfulliche þe pees & þe comyn profit it is not in conuenyent to teche hem al maner fiztyng of bataille & al maner doyng by þe whiche þei now ouercome here enemyes. And al suche doyng þei scholde ordeyne for þe comyn profit & for pees of citeseyns. ffor 3if þei desiren þe comyn profit & pees of þe citeseyns þei schulle haue þat perpetual pees in þe whiche is cheef quiete & reste. Þe whiche pees god graunteþ & byhateþ to his owne trewe seruantes þat is Iblessed for eueremore. Amen.'

¹ An edition of Vegetius and further investigation may help to settle the matter. The E.E.T.S. announces an edition in Original

Series, *Trevisa's englisht Vegetius on the Art of War*, from MS. 30 Magd. Coll. Oxon., by Mr. L. C. Wharton, Superintendent in British Museum.

We find, however, evidence of Trevisa from two interesting annotations or additions.¹ These are typical Trevisa notes, and should be compared with those from the *Polychronicon* and the *Dialogue*. The first is found in fol. 143 b (2), Chap. xvi. Just before the entry Aegidius is speaking of the four powers that 'Scholde be knowe in rewelyng of a citee: þe prince, þe consaile, þe zeedhalle, & þe puple'. The work of the prince has been discussed, then he comes to speak of the consaile. He proceeds to enumerate six things:

'þat falleþ not vnder consaile; first al þyng þat is in mutable & may not chaunge is out of oure consaile, for we taken consaile for to be reweled in oure dedes & nedes, & for to voide euel & for to haue good þan þynges þat may not be voided & þynges þat may not be changed falleþ not vnder counsaile. Perfore iii ethicorum, it is Iseid þat of euere lastyng þynges & of þynges þat may not chaunge no man axeþ consaile for no man axeþ consaile of þe dyameter þat may not be Imeete by þe costa neþer oþer thinges þat may not change. f. 143 b (2) *Trevisa*, for þe menyng herof it is to wetyng þat in quadrate liche long & brood ben foure lynes liche longe & þe foure sides þerof & eche of thilke foure side lyned is Icleped costa, and a lyne Idrawe in lengþe fro þe oo cornere of þe quadrate to anoþer corner in þe oþer side is Icleped dyameter & þat diameter is lenger þan costa & it may not be knowe in nombrane in what proporcioun þe dyameter is longere þan costa.²



þe seconde also of þynges þat meuen alwey in on manere wise is no consaile Itake for þynges þat meueþ alwey in on manere wise not nedes meue in þat wise for of þynges þat ben necessarie & nedeful is no consail etc. etc.'

¹ These were found on a hasty survey of the entire MS. A careful reading and comparison with a Latin MS. may reveal others. Sometimes, in the *Polychronicon* notes, a scribe has failed to insert the word

'Trevisa', thus indicating the note. Hence a comparison with the original Latin is necessary.

² Trevisa's note ends with the diagram.

The second addition or note is Chap. xvii, folio 144 b (1):

'ffor as it is Iseide iii^o ethicorum pere eche consail be a questioun, 3ut not eche questioun is a counsaile. ffor 3if consaile is Itake onliche of thinges pat stonde in oure dedes consaile is a questioun not of alle thinges but onliche of doynge & dedes of mankynde. Of speculatif thinges & of kynde of thinges & of euere lastynge thinges may be manye questions but suche questions ben not Icleped consailes. *Treuisa*, cours of sterres & planettes & of opere thinges of kynde pat may not chaunge ben Icleped speculabilia, doynge & dedes of mankynde ben Icleped agibilia.'¹

From Tanner, who writes of this work, 'In eodem codice (Digby 233) simili manu (as Vegetius) habetur translatio. . . . Forte Trevisa eius auctor', to MacCracken, all writers except Cooke (who speaks of Hoccleve) and Miss Greenwood (who questions it) have assigned it to Trevisa without hesitation or doubt. The reason is not evident. Is it because the work is bound up in the same MS. as Vegetius? The above Trevisa notes, the only sound evidence of authorship so far adduced, have never been noted before. Perhaps Trevisa's authorship may be more firmly established when a close study of the style, structure, &c., is made, and the work is compared with Trevisa's known works, *Polychronicon*, *De Proprietatibus Rerum*, and *Nicodemus*.

A further word must be said in regard to the three works in this edition.

(6) *Dialogus inter Militem et Clericum*.

This work is not mentioned by Pits, Bale,² or Tanner. It was first assigned to Trevisa by Humphrey Wanley, 1708, in his description of Harleian MS. 1900. He gives no reason for making Trevisa the author. He even makes him not a translator of a Latin dialogue, but an original author, for he begins thus: 'Dyalogus inter Militem & Clericum': i. e. between the above-

¹ There is no indication of the closing of these additions in the MS. I referred to Latin MS. in each case.

² Bale's *Scriptores*, fol. 199, ed. 1548: 'Interim in monachos utcumque mordax erat, eorum & fastum & luxum multifariam taxans.

Legimus Christum (inquit) pro uerbi sui ministerio, presbyteros instituisse, sed monachos aut mendicantes fratres fecisse non inuenimus, & cetera cum similibus sententiis.'

mentioned lord and himself (in his title he has referred to Trevisa as Chaplain to Thomas Baron of Berkeley). Wanley knew nothing of Occam's dialogue, and regarded Trevisa as the Clericus, for, after giving the opening words of the *Dialogue*, he refers to Trevisa and his work thus: 'And the main Drift thereof seemeth to be to impugne the Papal power in Temporal matters; for, as may be gathered from John Bale, he was no great friend to the Regular Clergie of those times; and might possibly differ in Opinion from them, touching more matters, than their Pride, Luxury & Hypocrisie.'

Dibdin, in 1810,¹ in describing Harl. 1900 and Trevisa's works, knew nothing of the original, for he makes the same mistake as Wanley: 'A Dialogue between a soldier and a clergyman (viz. Lord Berkeley and the Author Trevisa)'. He then quotes the beginning and the ending.² The Rev. Jas. Townley,³ in 1821, makes the same mistake as Wanley and Dibdin. From the nature of his list of Trevisa's works he copied directly from Dibdin. Dibdin knew of the printed edition (Berthelet) of the *Dialogue* (he had both Ames and Herbert) and Occam; he knew that the Latin was extant in Goldast's *Monarchia*, and he must have been acquainted with Oldys' *The British Librarian*, published 1738.⁴ How then did he make the mistake of making Trevisa, the clergyman in this dialogue? Did he merely follow Wanley? He evidently did not know that Trevisa was the translator of the Latin Dialogue. Trevisa's name is not mentioned by Ames, Herbert, or Oldys.

Prof. Babington, 1865, was the first to connect Occam and Trevisa. He also tells us that Occam's original *De Potestate Ecclesiastica et Saeculari* is published in Goldast's *Monarchia S. Romani Imperi*, vol. i, pp. 13-18.⁵ Rogers and Cooke both list it as a translation of William of Occam's dialogue. Boase

¹ Op cit., vol. i, p. 140.

² Dibdin evidently knew the last part of the *Dialogue*. The last two sentences are not given by Wanley. In the last sentence he had trouble with the phrase 'panes proposicionis'. He writes it 'thaves' (shew-bread). He also has two other

glosses in his quotation, viz. lewd (ignorant) and nought (not). He has modernized the spelling.

³ Op. cit., vol. ii, p. 49.

⁴ See p. xlvi.

⁵ Rolls Series of *Polychronicon*, vol. i, p. liv.

and Courtney are the first and only (except *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*) authority to make Berthelet's copy Trevisa's translation. The entry is: 'M. Guilhelmi de Ockam, Angli, doctoris Parisiensis ex ordine minorvm Disputatio syper potestate praelatis ecclesiae . . . sub forma "Dialogi inter clericum & militem". In Melchior Goldastus' *Monarchia S. Romani Imperii* (1611), i. 13-18.' Then follows a note: 'The above is a copy of that which J. Trevisa translated into English with the following title: "A dialogue betwene a knyght and a clerke concerning the power spiritual and temporall." (Imprinted at London in Flete-strete in the house of Thomas Berthelet nere to the cundite at the sygne of Lucrece) n. d. (1555).' Boase and Courtney then mention the MSS. in which it is found, viz. St. John's Coll. Camb. H. 1, Harl. 1900, and B.M. Add. 24194.

Kingsford is not so sure of the Trevisa authorship as he is of the other works. He names FitzRalph's *Sermon* and the *Methodius* tract as Nos. 3 and 4 of the seven works listed, making no comment, but puts the *Dialogue* among the doubtful works, with the remark that Dr. Babington ascribes the translation to Trevisa. He says it was printed at London 1540, thus ascribing to Trevisa the translation of Berthelet's edition. Kingsford agrees with Poole that Occam is not the author of the *Dialogue*.¹ Miss Greenwood regards the *Dialogue* as Trevisa's translation, referring to it in her list as 'Translation from pseudo-Ockham on temporal power of the church'.

No reason has been given from Wanley downwards for assigning the *Dialogue* to Trevisa. That it is his translation is established by one of his annotations, if on no other grounds. This annotation is found, near the beginning of fol. 16, headed by his name (see p. 6). The clerk and the knight are discussing the time of Christ's *manhed*, and the time of his power and *maieste*. Here we have Trevisa's definition of these phases of Christ's life. The addition takes up the greater part of fol. 16, ending at 'ffor the Knyzt spekiþ in þis manere', p. 7, l. 8.

¹ See articles in *Dict. of Nat. Biog.* under Ockham and Trevisa; also above, pp. xliii ff.

(7) FitzRalph's Sermon 'Defensio Curatorum'.

The translation of this sermon by Trevisa is not mentioned by Pits, Bale, or Tanner. It is first mentioned by Wanley in his examination of Harl. MS. 1900. He tells us the purpose of the sermon, also the date and place, by quoting the title of the Latin original as published in Brown's *Fasciculus Rerum expetendarum & fugiendarum*, App., p. 466: 'Defensorium Curatorum contra eos qui privilegiatos se dicunt: Propositio Richardi (Filius Radulfi, sive Fitz-Rauf) Archiepiscopi Armachani Primatis Hiberniae, facta in Consistorio coram Domino Papa, & Dominis Cardinalibus ac Praelatis, ad utilitatem Cleri & populi Christiani, super materia Mendicitatis & Privilegiorum, contra Fratres de Ordinibus mendicantium quibuscunque: apud Avinionem octava die Mensio Novembris, A. D. 1357.' After quoting the passage fol. 11 b,¹ in regard to the number of students at Oxford (see text, p. 58, l. 26) he mentions two other sources of the Latin text, viz. Lambeth MSS. and Appendix to Usher's *Hist. Dogm.*² Dibdin gives the same quotation as Wanley down to 'hap' (text, p. 59, l. 10). He has no reference to the originals, but only 'A translation of a Latin sermon of Radulf or Fitz Rauf, Archibishop of Armagh, Nov. 8th, 1357, against Mendicant Friars'. Babington has it preached at Oxford, 1357, against the mendicant friars.³ Rogers, 1870, follows Babington; Cooke, 1876, fails to list it. Boase and Courtney give Nov. 8, 1357, at Oxford. They also name the MSS. containing it: Harl. 1900; St. John's Coll. Camb. H. 1; B.M. Addit. 24194; they also mention the Latin in Brown's *Fasciculus*, etc. Miss Greenwood fails to give place or date, simply: 'Sermon by Richard Fitz Ralph, abp. Armagh, addressed to the pope, against the mendicant friars.' Not one of these writers hesitates in ascribing this to Trevisa,⁴ and yet

¹ The passage quoted beginning 'So pat'.

² Wanley does not mention the original Latin MSS. of the sermon.

³ Not preached at Oxford. See Poole, *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*, vol. xix, p. 196. Why does Babington make

this mistake, and why is he followed by Rogers and Boase and Courtney? As we have seen, the original was known by Wanley. He gives Avignon.

⁴ None of them give any reason for ascribing to Trevisa.

there is no evidence of authorship in the MS. itself. Trevisa has failed to find anything worthy of his annotations. Of course it is bound up in five manuscripts, with two of Trevisa's works, viz. the *Dialogue* and *Polychronicon*. Does this prove anything?

TREVISA THE TRANSLATOR.

My conclusion that Trevisa translated the sermon is based upon (A) his method of translation, and (B) his arrangement of words in the sentence.

A. Method of Translation.

As a translator Trevisa had regard always to exact accuracy. He wished to be understood—this resulted in wordiness. In his original works, 'Dialogue between a Lord and a Clerk upon Translation', 'The Epistle of Sir John Trevisa upon the translation of *Polychronicon* into our English tongue', and 'Notes to the *Polychronicon*', he is extremely verbose. But he is even more so in his translations.

This verbosity displays itself chiefly in two ways: (1) The use of doublets, translating one Latin word by two or more words. (2) Expansion of the Latin phrase, often adding words and phrases not found in the original.

1. The use of Doublets.

The most notable characteristic of Trevisa's style is the doubling of words. This is a constant practice, as well in his original works as in his translations.

Original Works:

Dialogue between a Lord and a Clerk.

- (1) but God of his mercy and grace.
- (2) of their goodness and courtesy.
- (3) to make translation trusty and true.

Trevisa's note in *Dialogue between a Soldier and the Clerk*, text, p. 6.

- (1) of his myȝt, power & maieste.
- (2) & hadde þe see & wynde & weder & fendes.
- (3) over alle þe deueles & fendes.
- (4) also his lore was in myȝt & power.

Translations :

Out of many examples listed I give only a few.

1. *The Polychronicon.*

(1) Vol. i, p. 359. L. deformes = wonderfoule & yuel i-schape.

(2) Vol. i, p. 359. L. in nundinis = chepinge and in feires.

(3) „ p. 361. L. novis prodigiis = newe meruailles & wondres.

(4) Vol. iii, p. 241. L. fortunam = þe fortune & happe.

(5) „ „ L. straverat = i-heled & i-sprad.

(6) „ iv, p. 9. L. eius ditioni = to his lordschipe and mageste.

(7) Vol. iv, p. 19. L. dolose = by fraude & by gyle.

(8) „ p. 21. L. propter pium cultum = for his riȝtful byleue and worschippinge of God.

2. *The Dialogue between the Soldier and the Clerk.*

(1) 2/10. L. statuta = statutes & ordinances.

(2) 4/6. L. dominium = lordschipe, power, & auctorite.

(3) 6/5. L. potestas = power & mageste.

(4) 13/4. L. lacerata lex = þe lawe is y-tore and to-rent.

(5) 15/10. L. cognitionum = of doome & knowleche of dower.

(6) 23/13. L. vestram violentiam = ȝoure violence & ȝoure wrong.

(7) 24/11. L. tollitis = ȝe to-tereþ & to-heleþ & takip away.

3. *The Gospel of Nicodemus.*

þat þowe have and comande, þat he come and stande, gret reverence & worship, destroye and vndo, lowted & bowed, bowed and bended, nys neyþer truwe ne soþe, and tellen þe soope and þe troupe, hade pitie & mercye, we wit ner avyse hem, ye witteþe & knoweþe.

4. *De Regimine Principum.*

Dignytees & hye astates, by heritage & by successioun, his children & successours, resoun & lawe, gret & perfite loue, to kepe & saue, precepte and commandement, syngel power and myȝt, schal be wise & konnyng to gouerne & to rule, to declare & determine.

5. *The Sermon.*

(1) 43/2. L. ex quo est acceptior Deo = & more alowed & leef to god.

(2) 45/9. L. involuti = bep wrapped & snarled.

(3) 46/4. L. involuti = bep y-wralled & y-snarled.

(4) 48/30. L. hoc implicat contradictionem = hit closep contradiccion & wip saiyng.

(5) 50/33. L. suo proprio sacerdote = to her prest & her ordinarie.

(6) 63/32. L. inobedientes = vnobedient & vnboxom.

(7) 72/16. L. quod commodum temporale = þat worldliche profit & wynnyng.

(8) 75/30. L. habenti corporalem defectum = a wemme & defeaute in his body.

(9) 76/19. L. sicut in furto = as in þefþe & stalþe.

(10) 92/12. L. de victu & vestitu = of mete & drynke & cloþ.

II. *Expansions and Additions.*1. *The Polychronicon.*

Vol. i, 137 ff. Lat. in prima namque expeditione Aciana, post Vesorem regem Ægypti fugatum, in redeundo circa Asiam pacandam quindecim annis vivi immorati, querelis uxorem tantam moram non ferentium revocantur=in þe firste iourney in Asia after þat þey hadde i-dreue and i-chased and i-pursewed Vasore þe kyng of Egipt into þe tornynge aȝe, þey abede fiftene ȝere for to make pees in Asia. But wyfes made grete pleyntes and sorwes þat hire housbondes were so longe from home, and so þe men were of-sent and torned home to dwelle wip hir wifes.

Vol. i, p. 361. Lat. ut aliquam aquam transeunt, in propriam naturam redeunt = but anon as þere swyne passeþ any water þey torneþ aȝen into his own kynde, where it be straw, hey, gras, oper torues.

Vol. iii, pp. 239 and 241. Lat. reliquam partem de nocte soporata dispersit=and fil vppon the oper deel anyȝt whanne þey were a-slepe, and slowȝ of hem, and chased hem, and brake and to schad hem everich oon from oper.

Vol. iv, p. 11. Lat. cuius veneni tanta vis fuit = þe strengþe and þe malice of þis venym was so grim and so grisliche.

Vol. iv, p. 25. Lat. qui respondit ei amphibolice = and Appolyn answered hym amphibolice, þat is, that he ȝaf hym an answe-re of double understondynge.

2. *The Dialogue.*

(1) 4/10. Lat. Christianus = a trewe Cristen man.

(2) 6/3. Lat. humilitates vsque suam passionem = þe tyme of his manhed was from þat he toke flesch & blode anon to his passion.

(3) 11/15. Lat. ergo etiam ratione peccati debet papa de sanguine iudicare sed plumbeum est argumentum id = þerfore bycause of synne þat siche men doþ, þe pope schal deme & be domesman? In cause of felony & of mannes deþ, þe argument is nouȝt.

(4) 15/12. Lat. & saepe firmari possit regalibus instrumentis = & schal be preued oþer dispreued by preues oþer dispreues of þe kynges lawe.

(5) 17/10. Lat. vtique operatiis & stipendiariis = to work-men, to hyred men, to oxen & nouȝt to kynges.

(6) 23/3. Lat. & quicquid superest = and al þat is ouer þat nedip to mete & drynke & helyng.

(7) 24/14. Lat. non perstrepite = y pray ȝou leteþ be ȝoure noyse & ȝoure grucchyng.

(8) 25/12. Lat. videtis ergo, cum pauca regi traditis, quomodo salutem vestram redimatis, quando omnia bona vestra deperdenda saluat = þanne ȝe seeþ þat whanne ȝe ȝeueþ a lytel what to þe kyng ȝe biggeþ ȝoure owne sauacioun & saueþ ȝoure owne goodes & catel þat schulde be distried wiþ ȝoure owne neiȝbores & wiþ men of straunge londes, nere þe kynges help & his socoure.

(9) 26/15. Lat. sed non quiescitis = & ȝe resteþ nouȝt but grucchiþ alwey.

(10) 32/8. Lat. reddite omnibus debita, cui tributum, tributum, cui vectigal vectigal = ȝeldeþ & payeþ to alle men what is dewe to hem to whom tribute is dewe payeþ tribute. And to whom oþer rente and seruise is dewe payeþ hem oþer rent & seruise.

(11) 36/12. Lat. posse addere, posse minuere quae libet temperare = & þat he may putt to pryuyleges & lawes & wiþ-drawe & chaunge & redresse euereche þat erreþ.

(12) 37/11. Lat. panes propositionis = loues þat were cleped panes proposicionis.

3. *Sermon.*

(1) 45/2. Lat. incendiarios = incendiaries þat settiþ houses afyre.

(2) 49/4. Lat. suo sacerdoti sive ordinario = to his owne prest þat is his curator & his ordinarie.

(3) 50/4. Lat. confitens = he þat is y-schryve to freres.

(4) 52/11. Lat. scilicet obedientiae quoad legem confessionis, & etiam quoad legem personae = for he is obedient in þat he schryueþ hym & also in þat he schryueþ hym to his ordynarie, þat is his curatour.

(5) 55/33. Lat. fratribus confitentur = & children beþ y-schryve to freres.

(6) 56/21. Lat. quale est furtum huiusmodi = siche þefþe and trespace is siche stilyng.

(7) 56/32. Lat. pro aliquo malo vitando = for-to avoyde & ascape harme what harm hit euere were.

(8) 60/11. Lat. per hoc clerum & populum importune velut effrontes ubi libet overantes = and bynymeþ þerby þe fleece of þe peple & of þe clergie & chargiþ hem in euerech place.

(9) 62/19. Lat. quod habere jus praedicandi fidelibus = having riȝt to preche and to cristen men.

(10) 72/7. Lat. recipiendi ad sepulturam = to fonge dede bodyes to sepulture.

(11) 73/28. Lat. in paupertate & humilitate = in þe heizeste pouert and mekenesse.

(12) 81/18. Lat. nec fingere quis potest quod praemissum praeceptum est ceremoniale = & no man may feyne þat the forseide heeste is cerymonial, to be vsed among þe Jewes aloone.

(13) 82/12. Lat. & aperto ore eius inuenies staterem = & open his mouþe & þou schalt fynde a stater a þinge þat weyeþ half an vnce.

(14) 83/23. Lat. condemnat eos qui quaestum aestimant

pietatem = dampneþ her trowyng & her opinioun þat trowip þat beggerie & gaderyng is holy myldnesse.

(15) 86/11. Lat. quorum neutrum providus homo affirmabit = but no wise man wole saye þat þe holy gost had forȝete his office noþer þat þe apostles hadde sich enuye.

(16) 87/3. Lat. quod a vulgo vocatus non solum filius fabri, sed faber = ffor he was nouȝt y-cleped oonlich a carpenters sone, but also he was openlich y-cleped a carpenter.

B. Arrangement of Words.

I. Position of the Subject.

Very rarely does the subject follow the verb in Trevisa. In the first three hundred pages of vol. v of the *Polychronicon* the following cases occur: p. 5 & þere came a wydewe wepyng; p. 19 but speke wolde he nevere; p. 115 þat tyme come up Arrian his heresie.

The Dialogue: 13/12 þanne bigynneþ ȝoure knowleche & ȝoure dome; 20/4 ȝaf nouȝt oure forfadres.

The Sermon: 45/4 of þe whiche vneþe comeþ to me & to my penitaunseres fourty aȝere; 47/27 most be ordeyned his propre medicyn; 86/3 may nouȝt be y-founde oon notable worde.

II. Position of Object.

Exceptions to the regular order are:

Polychronicon, vol. v, pp. 1-300: p. 31 cruel lawes he tempered; p. 91 myȝte tho non answeere gete; p. 129 olde chirches he mendede, and new chirches he bulde.

Dialogue: 21/2 masses ȝe siggip nouȝt noþer syngip in chirehe.

Sermon: 46/2 & so of þe gretteſt wynnyng, no teping paie; 48/3 þei myȝt noon siche bildyngis make; 84/3 bot God hit forbede; 89/16 his resouns ich ouerpasse at pis tyme.

III. Position of the Adjective.

In the case of a single adjective, it almost invariably precedes the noun. In the case of two adjectives, Trevisa does not

adhere to the old rule, one before the noun and one after. The following examples illustrate his usage:

1. *The Dialogue between the Lord and the Clerk*: the great & high tower; great & noble information; to make translation trusty & true.

2. *Epistle on Translation*: my worthy and worshipful Lord; a bettere English translation & more profitable.

3. *Polychronicon*: vol. v, p. 47 a wel trewe iuge and stedefast; vol. v, p. 199 with grete batailles and stronge; vol. v, p. 203 & hadde weder hard and stormes; vol. ii, p. 227 wip smale twigges and wip red; vol. ii, p. 231 couenable and clene mete; vol. ii, p. 303 of oon colour whyte oper blak.

4. *De Rerum Proprietatibus*: the noble and expert doctrine; of wise and well-learned; ye witty and eloquent readers; diuers and contrary shapes; many riuers and great; a strong land and a sturdy; white bears most great and right fierce; vseth vile meat and little.

5. *Rule of Princes*: youre chaste & worthi childhode; eny singuler profite; by liknes rude & bystrous; vnder hiz & derk materes.

6. *Nicodemus*: chese ye many men and stronge; chose twelve þe strengest men and most mighty; a wonder dredful sweven and a grisly; many gloryous myraclis; eight and thritty wynter; clene linnen cloþe.

7. *Dialogue between the Soldier and the Clerk*: 1/4 sotil & derk speche; 6/26 & many oper grete dedes; 20/9 in pore men & nedy; 20/12 grete lordschipes & huge; 30/4 to holy vse & mylde; 31/12 to comyn & greuouse charges; 35/3 by witnesse cleer & trewe.

8. *Sermon*: 39/15 seuen sermons oper eiȝte; 43/22 þat were damage & desauantage greuous & huge; 49/16 hereþ oon masse opir many; 55/34 wip smale ȝiftes and gileful; 59/9 is a noble librarie and a grete; 63/2 of þe laste riȝtful dome; 91/9 in þe mouþe of a wise man & redy.

IV. *Position of the Adverb.*

The adverb is almost always placed after the verb. Very often the object separates it from the verb.

1. *Polychronicon*: vol. v, p. 2 dede noþing wrongfulliche;

p. 17 brouȝte hym by myȝte priueliche ; p. 27 þat recceþ neuere ; p. 91 offrede sacrificise besiliche ; p. 207 he ȝaf neuere bataille.

2. *Dialogue*: 8/2 lo þou herest openlich ; 11/12 þis argument is riȝt nouȝt ; 24/5 þat recchelesliche suffreþ ȝou so frowardliche wirche ; 37/4 suffre ȝe hit pacientliche ; 37/6 no man kike vnriȝtfullich.

3. *Sermon*: 39/23 never beggide wilfulliche ; 40/1 never tauȝt wilfulliche to begge ; 40/3 no man may redilich & holiliche beggyng vpon hym take euermore to holde ; 40/21 y pray ȝowre holynesse mekelich & deuoutliche ; 42/16 þat freres counseileþ so men ; 44/24 ffer þei payeþ neuere teþinge ; 61/35 schulde coueite his catel wrongfulliche ; 64/23 schal examyne hem bisiliche of þe riȝt feiþ ; 64/32 þei doþ neuerpelas vnobedientliche ; 65/8 by þe which þei bep so made riche ; 67/11 ich hote alle freres heȝliche by obedience ; 79/5 he takeþ þat office wilfullich ; 82/32 þanne Crist dide so neuer.

(8) Methodius 'þe bygynnyng of þe world and þe Ende of Worldes'.

This is not mentioned by Pits, Bale, or Tanner, unless it is the one listed *De Memorabilibus temporum*. The Harleian Catalogue recognizes it among Trevisa's works, and quotes the title (p. xvi above). The Catalogue has this remark on the original: 'Learned men generally deem it supposititious; it being idle enough, and making mention of the great Conquests & Cruelties of the Sarazens, who brake not forth from Arabia until many Centuries after the decease of Methodius Patarensis.' Dibdin notices it, as part of Harl. 1900. Townley has the same notice as Dibdin. Rogers: 'A spurious production "On the beginning and end of the world", ascribed to Methodius.' Cooke does not mention it. Boase and Courtney: 'Erroneously ascribed to Methodius, Patriarch of Constantinople, who died 14 June, 846.' Miss Greenwood: 'Translation of a tract by pseudo-Methodius.'

The authorities quoted assign this to Trevisa without giving any reason. It is bound up with Trevisa material in but two MSS., viz. Harl. 1900 and Burleigh House.

TREVISA NOT THE TRANSLATOR.

My conclusion that Trevisa did not translate this work is based upon his method of translation, and his arrangement of words in the sentence.

A. *Method of Translation.*

We have in English not a full and complete translation of Methodius's *Revelationes*. The Latin work consists of about 7,000 words; the English translation has been shortened to about 3,500. A great number of lines and passages, however, have been translated literally. There is a complete absence of the Trevisa habit of using doublets. The tendency is to shorten the Latin expression. Very rarely does the translator make explanations. The following illustrations will show the method employed:

96/6 pere were men wickid doeris & fynderis of worst crafte of þe sones of Caym. Lat. surrexerunt viri malae artis inventores, iniqui, & omni nequitia plani, ex filiis Cain.

99/2 afterward þe sones of Iaphet senten to Iointum men and gaffis men of heliynge & buylderis. Lat. miserunt viros potentes filiis Iaphet, nimis sapientes & artifices in arte tectoria constructores.

100/5 Cusdro herynge, lete hem aloon til þat þei passide þe flood of Tigre. Lat. audiens autem de eis Cosdrum, subrisit & dimisit eos vsque transierunt flumen Tygrim.

102/3 & þe 3ok of hem schal be heuy vppon þe nolles of folkes. Lat. & in duplum erit iugum illorum, super colla vniuersarum gentium.

104/15 and þei schule go togidre seruauntis & olde men riche men & pore wiþ affliccioun & weelynge schule seye: 'Blessed be þei þat wente before vs of þis liȝt.' Lat. & gradiuntur in ea senes & seniores, inopes & diuites, esurientes, sitientes, compedibus vincti, & manicis ligati, & beatificant eos qui iam mortui sunt.

105/15 her horsis þei schule tyȝe to þe sepulcris of seyntis. as to rackis. Lat. et iumenta sua ad sepulchra sanctorum alligabunt, tanquam ad praesepia.

106/6 þus soply þei pursuede þe prophetis þat weren before

vs, but whiche dwelleþ stille vnto þe ende, he schal be saf. Lat. sic enim persecuti sunt prophetae qui fuerunt ante vos : qui autem sustinuerit in finem hic saluus erit.

108/5 as þei were in þe dayes of Noe etynge and drinkinge, gladinge & weddinge. Lat. sicut enim in diebus Noë erant homines manducantes & bibentes, & nubentes, & nuptias contrahentes.

108/12 and þei schule hyde hem silf in hilles and in spelunkis. Lat. abscondent se in montibus, & speluncis & in monumentis.

108/15 siche perfere schul ete þe flesche of men & serpentis & iumentis. Lat. comedent carnes hominum, & bibent sanguinem bestiarum sicut aquam, & comedent immunda, serpentes, scorpciones.

B. Arrangement of Words.

1. Position of the Subject.

In many cases the subject is compound, and the parts are separated by the verb. This peculiarity never occurs in Trevisa. Examples are :

94/12 þei bep cast out virgyns of paradise.

95/11 fornicaciouns bep ouermyche enlargide vppon erþe & vnclennesis of þe sones of Caym.

95/17 and Caym dwellide & his kynrede.

97/12 Noe bigan to buylde agein newe possessioun, & his sones in þe erþe.

98/18 þei made to hem a kyng þe sones of Cham.

104/4 & alle þingis schulen be vnder þe ʒok of hem & in þe tribute of hem & alle ournamntis of riche men.

108/11 & þei schule bigynne to wexe pale for drede, alle men þat dwellen vppon erþe.

2. Position of the Object.

Four examples of object preceding the verb : 98/10 al astronomye & sterres of heuene he fonde ; 102/15 fiʒteris wiþ armes þei gaten ; 105/15 her horsis þei schule tyʒe ; 108/16 wymmen wiþ lytel children þei schul ete.

3. Position of the Adjective.

The translator is most sparing in his use of adjectives. A
h

single adjective before the noun is the rule. Contrary to Trevisa's custom, very few predicative adjectives occur. The only deviation is to be found in the following:

95/1 þei gendride Caym the first geten; 95/7 a man geaunt & grete; 96/9 þe sones of Lameth þe blynde.

4. *Position of Adverbs.*

Very few adverbs are used. The translator appears to have difficulty in placing them, especially the adverbial phrases.

95/13 in þe IX^e ȝere soþly & XXX Adam is deed, & is buried in Ebron, in þe first þousand of þe world.

100/16 wente oute firste of wilderness to stryue in batail.

'Soþly' is used very often, in time phrases, as, 'Soþly in þe sixe hundred ȝere etc.', which is but rarely used by Trevisa. ('It is soþe' is occasionally used in Trevisa.) The adverb in 'liche' does not occur. This is used by Trevisa, not only as an adverb, but also as an adjective.

5. *Other Peculiarities.*

(a) *forto* used but once: 103/6 wip þat þat is most foule *forto* saye. In Trevisa, used very often, in the following senses: *Poly.* v. 207 *forto* = Lat. *donec*. *Dial.* 7/12 but for to folowe hym = Lat. *ut*, in order that; also *Dial.* 7/14 & *forto* preue þis.

(b) *tofore* = before, is very common in Trevisa, but is never found in Methodius.

(c) The Genitive in *his*, *-es*, *-is* is very frequent in Trevisa, but found only once in Methodius, e. g. 110/2 a man of mannes seed of þe kynred of Dan. In all other cases the genitive is formed with 'of'.

(d) The indefinite 'me' occurs again and again in Trevisa.¹ This does not occur in Methodius.

(e) *Impersonal verb.* The only example of the impersonal use in Methodius is 96/18 it forþinkiþ me þat y made man. The impersonal construction is very common in Trevisa. *Dialogue*: 3/9 him nedip nouȝt but write; 10/14 & ȝeue where hym likeþ;

¹ Malory uses 'men' (Baldwin, p. 20), so also does Caxton (Keelner, xlvj).

14/12 hit nedip nouȝt but close þe ȝates; 28/9 þanne me schal nouȝt spare; 33/10 ffor hem nedip. *Sermon*: 40/29 me is leuer suffre; 41/3 as me semeþ; 58/24 for hem is leuer make hem erpe tilyers; 78/19 hereby as him semeþ.

(f) *Vocabulary*. Trevisa's familiar words do not occur in the tract. Among these may be listed: bynyme, vnneþe, eueriche, wipsigge, outtake (except).

(g) And finally, the loose sentence, as displayed here, is not Trevisa's. One example will suffice. 96/5 in þe CCC & XL^c ȝere of þe lif of Iareth in þe secunde þousand of þe world, þere were men wicked doeris & fynderis of worst crafte of þe sones of Caym, & of al vnclennesse, & filþe, þat is Obal & Tubal, þat is to wite þe sones of Lameth þe blynde, which was þe first blynde man þat slow Caym.

(9) Trevisa and the Bible—History of the Discussion.

That Trevisa translated the Bible was first mentioned by Caxton in the proheme to his edition of the *Polychronicon* (1482), where he states that: 'Treuisa vycarye of barkley which atte request of one Sir thomas lord barkley translated this sayd book [*Polychronicon*] the byble & bartylmew de proprietatibus rerum out of latyn into englyssh.' Bale¹ (1495-1563) follows Caxton: 'In Anglicum idioma, ad petitionem praedicti sui domine de Barkeley, transtulit Bibliorum opus.' Smyth² in translating *Balaeus de Scriptor Angl. Centur.* 7, No. 18: 'Into the English tongue hee likewise at the request of said lord Berkeley translated the whole bible, as well the old as New Testament.' Pits (1560-1616) simply says: 'Sacra Biblia libros duos.' Bishop Ussher³ (1581-1656) seems to follow Bale. Carew⁴ (1602) writes, referring to Trevisa:

'At whose request [Thomas Lord Berkeley] he translated the Bible into the English tongue; though the same was done by John Wickliffe fifty years before, but not with that perfection of language, that Trevisa did it, altho Trevisa's translation

¹ *Script. Illustr.*, ed. 1559, p. 518.

quotes Bale and refers to him).

² *Op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 343.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, ed. 1811, p. 269.

³ *Hist. Dogmatica*, p. 157 (Ussher

is altogether as far short of Tyndall's in Henry VIII days, by reason the English tongue was still improving to a higher pitch, for they all agreed in the original sense and meaning of the text.'

In 1611 the translators of King James's Version of the Bible seemed to have believed it. The preface says: 'Much about that time, even in our King Richard's the Seconds dayes, John Trevisa translated them into English.'

Cooke says:

'Fuller writes as if he had seen the translation itself and compared it with Wyckliff's. In his *Church History of Britain* (1655), in an entry under the year 1395,¹ 19 Rich. II, on the death of Trevisa, he says: "But his masterpiece was the translating of the Old and New Testaments, justifying his act herein by the example of Bede, who turned the Gospel of St. John in English. I know not which more to admire, his ability that he could, his courage that he durst, or his industry that he did perform so difficult and dangerous a task, having no other commission than the command of his patron, Thomas Lord Berkeley. It may seem a miracle that the bishops being thus busy in persecuting God's servants, and Trevisa so obnoxious to their fury for this translation, that he lived and died without any molestation. Yet was he a known enemy to monkery, witness that (among many others) of his speeches, that he had read, Christ had sent apostles and priests into the world, but never any monks or begging friars. But whether it was out of reverence to his own aged gravity, or respect to his patron's greatness, he died full of honor, quiet, and age, little less than ninety years old."

In his *Worthies of England*² (first ed., 1662) Fuller, in writing of the Worthies of Cornwall, gives almost the entire space of Trevisa to this translation of the Bible:

'A daring work for a private person in that age, without particular command from Pope or public council. Some much admire he would enter on this work, so lately performed (about

¹ Fuller, *Ch. Hist. of Britain*, in ed. of 1655, given in pars. 43, 44, 45, under date 23 Rich. II, 1397. In Brewer's ed. 1845, put under year 1395, 19 Rich. II, vol. ii, p. 380. In Nichols's ed. 1868 same date as 1845 ed. (3 vols.), vol. i, Bk. IV,

pp. 543-4.

² 1662 ed. (in 4 parts), Part I, p. 214; 1811 ed., John Nichols (2 vols.), vol. i, p. 217; 1840 ed., P. A. Nuttall (3 vols.), vol. i, pp. 316, 317.

fifty years before) by John Wickliffe. What was this, but, *actum agere*, to do what was done before? Besides, Wickliffe and Trevisa agreeing so well in their judgments, it was much he would make a re-translation. Such consider not, that in that age it was almost the same pains for a scholar to translate as transcribe the Bible. Secondly, the time between Wickliffe and Trevisa was the crisis of the English tongue, which began to be improved in fifty, more than in three hundred years formerly. Many coarse words (to say no worse) used before are refined by Trevisa, whose translation is as much better than Wickliffe's, as worse than Tyndal's. Thus, though the fountain of the original hath always clearness alike therein, channels of translation will partake of more or less purity, according to the translators age, industry, and ability.'

Wharton (1664-95) follows Ussher in ascribing the translation to Trevisa. He even ascribes the revised version of Wycliffe to Trevisa. John Lewis (1675-1747) in his work on Wycliffe's translation¹ in 1731, writes of Wharton's opinion thus:

'I am assured by a learned friend that the late Mr. Humfrey Wanley² (1672-1726), who had taken a great deal of pains in this matter and been very curious in his searching told him, that Mr. Wharton in ascribing the translation commonly called Wicliff's to Trevisa was misled by John Bagford² (1650-1716), and that Trevisa translated no more of the Bible than certain sentences painted upon the walls of the Chapel in Berkeley Castle.'

Mr. Wanley, who examined the Trevisa MS. (now Harl. 1900) some time between 1708 and 1726, expresses his doubt of the Trevisa translation thus:

'As to the Bible's being wholly translated by our author Trevisa: I perceive it mentioned by Caxton: from him by Bale and Pits, who give the beginning of the Preface thereunto: from Bale, Primate Usher takes the notion; and at length Mr. Wharton (App. ad Cav. Hist. Litt., p. 49)³ believes it may still be extant; it relating not to the book [*Polychronicon*] in hand. I shall say no more but this; I shall be very glad to see one of them.'

Lewis thinks that Bale was misled by mistaking the dedica-

¹ *The New Testament Translation of John Wicliff*, 1731, p. 13. Also in Lewis, *A Complete Hist. of Translations of Bible and New Testament*, ed. 1818, p. 50.

² See *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

³ *Cat. Lib. MSS. Bibl. Harl.*, vol. ii, p. 320.

tion, 'I Johan Trevisa your preeste & bedemen obedyant and buxom to werke your wyll', to Trevisa's Epistle to Lord Berkeley on translation of the *Polychronicon*, for a dedication to a translation of the Bible. As noticed above, Bale and Pits and Tanner (below) all have this translation beginning: 'Ego Iohannes Trevisa, Sacerdos.' Mr. Lewis proceeds: 'So far as I can find, no body ever yet saw an English Bible with a preface on it beginning in this manner.' He takes exception to Wanley's statement that Trevisa translated only certain verses painted on the chapel of Berkeley Castle, and gives a number of verses taken from Trevisa's translation of Barthol. *De Prop. Rerum*, given to him by Dr. Daniel Waterland (1683-1740). The verses¹ are Matt. xii. 45, 46, Matt. xviii. 32, Matt. xix. 13, 16, Matt. xxv. 18, Matt. xxvii. 19.

Tanner (1674-1735) thought that Trevisa translated the Bible: 'Jussu nobilis viri Thomae Dom. Berkeley patroni sui benignissimi transtulit in sermonum Anglicum Utrumque Testamentum, lib. II. "Ego Iohannes Trevisa, Sacerdos."² Huius translatione meminit G. Caxtonus in Praefat. ed. tr. *Polychronici*.'

In the beginning of the nineteenth century Dibdin made an investigation. While delivering a course of lectures on Ancient English Literature at the Royal Institution, he became interested in Trevisa and his Bible. He wrote to his friend, the Rev. J. Hughes, who was resident in the Berkeley family, for information. Part of the letter referring to the Bible is as follows: ³

'Berkeley Castle,
'Nov. 7th, 1805.

'I take the earliest opportunity of answering yours, having been here but a few days. I have made every inquiry and search respecting the information you want, and am sorry to say it is not in my power to remove the uncertainty you labour under respecting Trevisa's translation of the Bible, notwithstanding, I have the strongest reason to suppose, from circumstances I have met with, that such a translation was made, and

¹ See below, p. cxxvi.

² These words by Bale and Pits are the opening words of Trevisa's epistle to Berkeley on translation of *Polychronicon*.

³ This letter is quoted in full by

Dibdin, Ames's *Typ. Antiq.*, vol. i, pp. 141 ff. Parts are quoted and discussed by Cooke and Rogers, who take the opposite view (see below,

was even made in the English language, and that it existed in this family so late as the time of James 2nd. The book, translated by Trevisa, was given, as a very precious gift by the lord of Berkeley to the prince (I suppose) of Wales, and the prince's letter thanking the Lord of B. for his gift, I have read: he does not say positively that it was the Bible, but as he hopes (as far as I recollect) to be able to make good use of so valuable a gift, there is reason to suspect that he meant the Bible. The letter is still extant among the archives of the Castle. Lord Berkeley (of whom I have made inquiries in order to ascertain what you wanted if possible) has informed me that the book, given by his ancestors is at present, as he has reason to believe, in the Vatican at Rome. When he was there, several persons had mentioned their seeing such a book written by Trevisa, but he had not an opportunity to go and examine it himself, therefore cannot ascertain that it was the Bible. . . . I suspect all his translations, both from French and Latin were into English; but suspicions won't do for you. I wish it were in my power to give you more certain information.

'Yours very sincerely

'JNO. HUGHES.'

Dibdin thinks the opinion started 'from a loose assertion of Caxton in the proheme of *Polychronicon*' (above, p. lxxix). Bale and Pits got their view from this. Then Dibdin adds: 'But upon what authority our printer asserted it, or, if he saw such a translation, why he did not think it at least as deserving of publication as the *Polychronicon*, are questions which may be thought to press hard upon the probability of its existence.'

Townley, writing a few years later, 1821, is not so positive as Dibdin. He goes over much the same ground, quoting him and Wharton, and in addition has this to say in defence of Caxton:

'In reply also to what has been urged against Caxton's assertion of a translation having been made by Trevisa, it is sufficient to remark, that the danger attending the printing of an English Bible in Caxton's time was such, that it would have required the utmost religious intrepidity to have attempted it; and that it is therefore highly probable, that whatever preference our printer might have for the Scriptures, he would not place his life in jeopardy for its publication.'

To show the dangers of printers of this time he gives Sir Thomas More's defence for the printers (*Dyalogus*, fol. 49, col. 1, ed. 1529):

‘That on account of the penalties ordered by Arch. Arundel’s Constitution, though the old translations that were before Wycliff’s days remayned lawful and were in some folkys handys had and red, yet he thought no prynter would lightly be so hote to put any byble in prent at hys owne charge, whereof the loss should lie wholly on his own necke, and then hange upon a doubtfull tryall whyther the fyrst copy of his translacyon was made before Wycliffs days or synnes. For yff yt were made synnys, yt must be approwed before the pryntyng. But such an approbation was not then to be had.’

In 1839 the Rev. Thomas Hartwell Horne, who devoted most of his life to Biblical research, and who was on the staff of the British Museum, writes thus :¹

‘As no part of this work appears ever to have been published, the translation ascribed to him is supposed to have been confined to a few texts, which are scattered in some parts of his works (several copies of which are known to exist in MS.) or which were painted on the walls of his Patron’s Chapel, at Berkeley Castle.’

Forshall and Madden (1850) in the Preface to their Wycliffe Bible,² in trying to establish the position of the two versions in respect to time, and that John Purvey was the author of the General Prologue, and also of the second version³ have this reference :

‘Henry Wharton in his Auctarium to the Archbishop’s work, which it should be observed, was posthumous and unfinished, truly determined the respective characters and dates of the two versions : rightly giving the earlier to Wycliffe, and the later to the author of the General Prologue, whom, however, he erroneously conjectured to be John Trevisa [Auctarium Historiae Dogmaticae J. Usserii, p. 424 seqq., Auth. Harmer’s (Hen. Wharton’s) Specimens of Errors on History of Reformation, Lond. 1693, p. 16].’

Babington⁴ (1865): ‘Of his other translations, that of the Bible, said by Caxton, Bale, and others, to have been made by Trevisa, and possibly still extant at Rome, is the most important on all accounts. It is not, however, certain, though by no

¹ *Manual of Biblical Bibliography*, 1839, p. 66. Noticed by Rogers.

² *The Holy Bible, made from Latin Vulgate by John Wycliffe and his Followers*, 4 vols., vol. i, p. xxi.

³ See Pollard’s view, p. 84.

⁴ Higden’s *Polychronicon*, Rolls Series, vol. i, lv. (Babington refers to Mr. Hughes’s letter.)

means improbable, that Trevisa ever translated the Scriptures at all.' Rogers tells us that William Watt (ob. 1869), head of the printed book department in the British Museum, 'was not aware of any part of the reputed translation having ever been printed, nor did he know of the existence of the MS.' Mr. Rogers's paper on Trevisa appeared in 1870. He was so much interested in the translation that he made some effort to obtain the MS., supposed to be at the Vatican. He concludes the account of his research, not without hope: 'I regret to say that the search has not been attended with success, owing to the very imperfect way in which its contents are catalogued. I can only express a hope that if at a future time a catalogue should be completed some Cornishman may remember that this "last stone" has still "to be turned".'

Cooke, the strongest exponent of the Trevisa translation, wrote two articles, appearing in 1876¹ and 1878,¹ in which, after mentioning the authorities in favour of Trevisa, he attacks Dibdin and Hughes. Dibdin questions Caxton's statement, because he does not give his authority. Cooke defends Caxton thus:

'The truth or falsehood of Caxton's statement, made so soon after Trevisa's time (70 years after his death) would, however, be well known to many persons, and it was not necessary at that period to bring forward proofs or anticipate objections. Had it been false, the Berkeley's, all of whom were good Catholics, would have been only too anxious to clear their Chaplain and themselves from the suspicion of heresy which the charge at that time involved, by denying it. So far from being contradicted, however, Caxton is repeated by every writer of eminence down to the beginning of the present century. Caxton most probably had not access to Trevisa's translation of the Bible, but if he had, he is not likely to have undertaken a publication which would have immediately embroiled him with the authorities. The translation had brought nothing but persecution, toil and trouble to Wyckliff, and its publication soon afterwards cost Tyndale a life of exile and a death at the stake.'

He goes on to say that because Trevisa's patrons were faithful and devoted sons of holy Church, that they would

¹ Account of the Inscription in Berkeley Castle (*Trans. of Bristol and Gloucester Arch. Soc.*, 1876) and

Trevisa's Translation of The Bible (*Notes and Queries*, vol. x, 1878).

not identify themselves with the reforming party by allowing Trevisa's translation to be copied and circulated, and hence it would probably remain confined to the family and household at the castle, for whose use it was made.

In his 1876 article Cooke speaks of a copy or draft of a letter, in the Evidence Room at Berkeley Castle, written by George, the first Earl of Berkeley, addressed to James Duke of York, afterward King James II, in which the Earl begs the Duke's acceptance of 'an ancient collection in Manuscript of some part of the Bible', which he says has been carefully preserved near four hundred years. The name of 'Trevyse' occurs in the letter, though not as the name of the author of the MS., of the real nature of which Lord Berkeley was evidently entirely ignorant. In his 1878 article he tells us that 'this draft or copy is folded up in a sheet of paper, on which is an endorsement by the late W. F. Shrapnell, F.S.A. (who had charge of the Evidence Room down to 1817), to the effect that it refers to Trevisa's translation of the Bible, "since in the catalogue of books in the Vatican of Rome"'. He concludes his 1876 article by asserting that 'there is in the catalogue of the Vatican Library a manuscript of Trevisa's, and if this is not the missing translation of the Bible, it will probably be found at Frascati, as the collection of James II descended to Cardinal York, by whom they are bequeathed to the monastery there.' In 1878¹ he says that inquiries have been made at the Vatican by the Rev. Joseph Stevenson, of the Public Record Office, and by Bishop Clifford, but without effect, and also that he has information that there is no such MS. at Frascati, and that numbers of old MSS. have been sold of late years to English and other collectors. He concludes: 'Will any collector into whose hands Trevisa's MS. may have fallen inform us of the fact, and thus set this most interesting controversy at rest?'

The latest to enter the discussion is Alfred W. Pollard, the famous English scholar. His statement is brief, and direct, and on the side of Trevisa. In his Introduction (1903) to the English Garner Collection of *Fifteenth Century Prose and Verse*, as a preface to his two selections, viz. (a) Chapter XV of the Prologue

¹ *Notes and Queries* (5th S., vol. x, 5 Oct., 1878, pp. 261-2).

to the Second Wycliffite Version on Translating of the Bible, and (b) John Trevisa's Dialogue between a Lord and a Clerk upon Translation, he thinks there is not sufficiently strong evidence, as produced by Forshall and Madden, to prove that John Purvey was the author of the General Prologue and of the second version of the Wyclif Bible. Pollard shows how Caxton first introduced Trevisa's name, as the translator of the Bible; then how Daniel Waterland (1683-1740) 'guessed' and 'pitched' upon Purvey as the author of the second version, partly because he was a noted Lollard, and also because he owned a Bible in Trinity College, Dublin. 'The text', says Pollard, 'is the first version, not the second. Inasmuch also as the manuscript was not completed till 1427, or later, its bearing on the question of authorship of a translation, which had then been in circulation for some thirty years, does not appear to be very great.' He then proceeds to Forshall and Madden: 'Lightly arrived at as it was, Waterland's "guess" was adopted by Forshall and Madden in their fine edition of the two versions published in 1850, and as buttressed up by them with what seems to me a weak additional argument, has ever since been repeated as an established fact.' He sums up Forshall and Madden's arguments thus:

(1) The author of the Prologue is the author of the translation of the Bible;

(2) The Prologue has verbal resemblances to the treatise designated *Ecclesiae Regimen*;

(3) The *Ecclesiae Regimen* resembles Purvey's confession at his recantation in 1400;

Therefore the translator of the Bible is the author of the *Ecclesiae Regimen*, and the author of this is Purvey.

Pollard's conclusion is:

'I must repeat the chain seems to me lamentably weak, and that the resemblances which may be found between Section XV of the Prologue and Trevisa's Dialogue and Letter to Lord Berkeley are stronger, because not arising out of quite such common topics. That they are only to a slight extent verbal resemblances is no drawback. We do not expect a man to repeat his own words exactly. What is interesting is to find two translators both interested in their own methods, and these methods similar.'

Then again :

‘ At any rate, William Caxton seems a better authority than an eighteenth-century divine as to the authorship of a translation made only a few years before he was born. We know that Trevisa was what we may call a professional translator, well equipped for his task ; and we find him in the preface to the *Polychronicon* discussing the translation of the Bible in a strikingly similar spirit to that in which it is discussed in the Prologue to one of the translations which have come down to us. It is to be hoped that the subject may receive further investigation, and that without the importance of theological bias.’

(10) Biblical Inscriptions on the Walls of Berkeley Castle Chapel.

The best account of these is that of Cooke in ‘ On the Ancient Inscriptions in the Chapel at Berkeley Castle, with some account of Trevisa ’. He also gives specimens of the tracings as they then (1876) existed. These writings have usually been attributed to Trevisa, because in his Dialogue between the Lord and the Clerk, he puts the following words in the mouth of the Lord : ‘ Also thou wotest where the Apocalips is wryten in the walls and roof of a chappel both in Latyn and in ffrensche.’ Fuller¹ has the following reference :

‘ which Lord (as the said Trevisa observeth) had the Apocalyps in Latin and French, (then understood by the better sort as well as English) written on the roof and walls of his chapel at Berkeley ; and which not long since (viz. Anno 1622) so remained as not much defaced. Whereby we may observe, that midnight being past, some early risers even then began to strike fire and enlighten themselves from the Scriptures.’

Smyth² writes :

‘ In urging whereof (i. e. translations) hee bringeth in this lord Thomas instancing his own Chapple in Berkeley Castle wherein the Apocalips is written on the walls and rooffe in latin and french : which in this year, 1622, lo yet remaineth, somewhat, but not much defaced.’

¹ Op. cit. Also noted by the Rev. R. Demaus, *William Tyndale*, 1871, pp. 11, 12 ; also by Eadie, *The*

English Bible, vol. i, pp. 24-5.

² Op. cit., vol. i, p. 343.

Hughes's letter of 1805, given by Dibdin,¹ mentions this :

'The only vestige of Trevisa remaining here now, are a few fragments of board, with nearly obliterated words of Latin, not sufficient to make out what was meant ; the roof of the chapel was said by him to have had the Apocalypse written upon it, and I suspect these fragments to be the remains of it. The beams and wall-plates of the Chapel are still remaining, and after removing several coats of lamp-black, etc., four lines were discovered upon each, written in the old English character, which are alternately Norman French, and Latin. By removing also several coats of whitewash from a part of the chapel wall, a great deal of writing in the old English character was discovered. It was in a great state of decay, but I could make out that part was in Norman French and part in Latin ; this is also thought to be in Trevisa's day ; but not one certain vestige of him remains here, not even his grave in the church is known, though he is said to have been buried in the chancel.'

Cooke examined the chapel walls, and gives us an interesting description in his paper, 1876. In speaking of the inscriptions, among other things he says :²

'They are not mentioned in any of the county histories, and almost all local knowledge or tradition of their nature or origin seems to have passed away. They are portions of the Book of Revelation translated into Norman French by the venerable Trevisa, the first translator of Higden's *Polychronicon*. . . . They are interesting not only archaeologically, as specimens of early decorative religious art, but they possess a high historical value and significance as being one of the earliest attempts to render any part of the Holy Scriptures into the language of Englishmen : one of the first manifestations of that spirit of enquiry to which we owe our present religious and intellectual liberty.

'The Chapel dedicated to St. John is situated in the south-east angle of the inner court-yard, and is generally considered to be of the 14th century. It is 36 feet long by 18 feet wide, not including an arched passage or cloister 3 ft. 4 in. wide which extends along the southern side. The roof is nearly flat and covered with lead. It is supported by heavy tile beams, the spaces between which are divided by the purlius and ridge-pieces into nearly square panels. On the flat part of the sides of all roof-timbers the inscriptions may be traced. The writing, of which there are generally one or two, but sometimes three or four lines on each beam, is in black on a white ground, the initials in red ; the lettering is of the kind most in use in the

¹ Op. cit., vol. i, p. 142.

² Op. cit., vol. i, p. 138.

14th and 15th centuries. The beams and timbers seem to have been originally painted white, the spandrels being picked out with red, but the whole has been at some subsequent period painted over black and white. Five centuries of gradual decay and the scarcely distinctive process of ignorant or careless repair have, however, left the inscriptions legible in very few places. On the stone work inside the arched passage I have mentioned a good deal of similar block-letter writing may also be traced, but having been repeatedly white-washed over, it has become totally illegible. Except here the walls have all been plastered, so that it is now impossible to ascertain whether the inscriptions originally extended to them, but it is very probable they did.

'The specimens here shown are taken from careful tracings of all that remains legible. Two of the lines are parts of the 12th and 13th verses of the 8th Chapter. In the authorised version in this place we read, "An angel flying", which is here rendered "un egle volant". The Vulgate, however, from which Trevisa probably made his translation, has "aquila", and this reading, supported by many other versions, is received as genuine by most Biblical critics. Trevisa himself tells us that the Apocalypse was here written in Latin as well as French, but the Latin version, probably in another part of the chapel, has now quite disappeared.'

Lewis gives a few of Trevisa's Bible translations, particularly from his translation of *De Proprietatibus Rerum*, which were communicated to him by Dr. Waterland. These are :

Matt. xviii. 32. I forgave the al thy det bycause thou praydest me, wicked seruant.

Matt. xxv. 18. The slowe seruant hidde his lordis talent in the erthe.

Matt. xxvii. 19. Moche have I suffred by syghte bycause of him.

Luke xii. 45. My lord taryeth to come.

Luke xii. 46. If a seruant begynneth to drink and is dronken, and smiteth and beateth the meyny his lord shall come.

Luke xix. 13. The nobleman called his seruauntes and bytoke hem ten minas, and he said to these seruauntes marchaundise with it tylle I come.

Luke xix. 16, 17. Lo, Lord, the mina hath made ten minas, and his lorde sayde to him, and be thou hauynge power ouer ten cities.

II. ORIGINAL WRITINGS.

(1) Dialogue between the Lord and Clerk on Translation,
and (2) Epistle to Lord Berkeley on Translation.

These two short original writings of Trevisa are mentioned by Pits, Bale, Tanner, and subsequent writers, but sometimes spoken of under the *Dialogue* only. They were written as an introduction to the translation of the *Polychronicon*, and are found in the various MSS. usually preceding the *Polychronicon*. They are preserved for us in MSS. Cotton Tib. D. vii, Harl. 1900, Burghley House, Add. 24194, and Stowe 65 (where they follow the *Polychronicon*, ff. 217, 218).

They were first printed by Caxton as prefaces to his edition of the *Polychronicon*,¹ also by W. de Worde and P. Treveris. Both are printed in *Fifteenth Century Prose and Verse* (English Garner Collection),² but modernized in spelling. Smyth³ prints about half of the *Dialogue*, beginning with the words of the Lord: 'And yet for to make a sermon of holy writ all in Latin to men that can English and no Latin' (see *Fifteenth Century Prose and Verse*, p. 206), and ends with the words of the clerk: 'Then God grant us grace grathly to gin, wit and wisdom wisely to work, might and mind of right meaning to make translation tresty and true, pleasing to the Trinity, three persons and one God, in majesty that euer was and euer shall be' (*Fifteenth Century Prose and Verse*, p. 207). The Epistle is printed by Smyth.⁴

The Rev. Jas. Townley printed part of the *Dialogue*, beginning 'The Clerk. The Latin is both good and fair' (*Fifteenth Century Prose and Verse*, p. 205), and ending, 'and Jerome translated thrice the Psalter' (*Fifteenth Century Prose and Verse*, p. 207).

¹ Petrie in *Mon. Hist. Brit.*, vol. i, p. 4, note 5, says: 'He (Caxton) has omitted the dialogue between the translator and Thomas Lord Berkeley on the utility of translation, as well as the first thirty-eight chapters of the first book.' This is a strange mistake of Petrie, especially when he was so careful

in clearing up the mistake in dates 1357 and 1387, a few lines before.

² *Fifteenth Century Prose and Verse*, Introd. A. W. Pollard. Constable, 1903, pp. 203-10.

³ *Lives of the Berkeleys*, vol. i, p. 141. Miss Greenwood writes as if the whole were printed, op. cit., p. 504.

⁴ *Ibid*, vol. i, p. 343.

(3) Latin Pedigree Roll.

This is Roll 102 of Abbot Newlands Rolls (Nos. 97-102) among the muniments of Berkeley Castle. It was written by John Newland, Abbot of St. Augustine from 1481 to 1515, and contains the history of the Berkeley family from Harding. In his Preface he says that he compiled and translated it 'out of Latyn into Englishe'. Mr. Jeayes,¹ who was for years Superintendent of the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum, and who catalogued the Charters and Muniments of Berkeley Castle, says that Roll 102 'was the original production, if not in the very handwriting of John Trevisa'. Roll 101 is described thus:

'Copy made by W. F. Shrapnell, F.S.A., on Jan. 18th, 1808, of the "Ancient Vellum Roll written by Abbott Newland" in 1489, "part of which he translated from a more ancient roll written in latin by John Trevysa, Vicar of Berkeley" in 1398. Mr. S. adds that both these Rolls are at Berkeley Castle, Abbot Newland's in good preservation, but Trevysa's much injured by time.'

Under No. 102:

'Pedigree (this is the only remaining portion of Trevisa's Latin Pedigree Roll, which formed the foundation of Abbot Newland's Roll (Roll 87) and which as the latter states in his introduction he "translated out of latyn into Angliche") of Berkeley from Thomas, Lord Berkeley (1281-1321) who married Joan Ferres down to 1351. Lat. Vellum, Imperfect at the beginning, mutilated by damp, etc., and the ink much faded; stated to be in the handwriting of John Trevisa (ob. 1412) Vicar of Berkeley, and Chaplain to Thomas, Lord Berkeley; the translator of Higden's Polychronicon and other works.'

(4) Poetry.

Trevisa has placed a poem of twenty-four lines, six stanzas, at the head of his translation of Bartholomaeus, *De Proprietatibus Rerum*. Prof. MacCracken published this poem, taken from the MS. Harl. 614, fol. 46, in *The Nation*² as an illustration of

¹ Isaac Herbert Jeayes, *Desc. Cat. of the Charters and Muniments in Possession of the Rt. Hon. Lord Fitz-*

hardinge at Berkeley Castle, 1892, Introd. xxxv, p. 293.

² July 30, 1908, vol. lxxxvii, No. 2248, p. 92.

the writer's 'childlike naïveté'. He entitles it 'God me Speed'. The poem stands thus:

A Croys was maked¹ al of reed
In the bigynnyng of my book
That is clepid god me speed,
In the first lessoun that I took.

Thanne I lernede A and B.
And other lettris by her names:
But alwey god spede me
Thoughte me needful in alle games

If I pleyede in feeld or medis
In stillnesse either with noys,
I praiede helpe in alle my deedis
Of him that dyede on the croys.

Now dyuerse pleyes in his name
I shal lete passe forth, and fare
And auenture to pleye o, long game:
But yit also I schal spare.

Bothe wodis, medis, and feeldis,
Places that I haue pleyed inne:
And in his name, that al thing weldis,
This game I schal bigynne.

And pray help, counseil and reed,
To me that he now wil sende,
And this game wel rule and leed,
And bring it to a good ende.

Prof. MacCracken prints a number of poems in *Herrig's Archiv*,² under the heading 'Lydgatiana', from MS. Trinity College, Cambridge, R. 3. 21. This MS. is of Edward IV's time. Prof. MacCracken thinks that John Stow, the Elizabethan antiquary, wrongly ascribed the poem to Lydgate. He shows that the Trinity MS. was in the possession of Roger Thorney, a citizen of London, and the patron who furthered the printing by Wynkyn de Worde of Trevisa's version of the *De Proprietatibus Rerum*. The ownership of the MS. by Thorney raises

¹ 'maad' in MS.

² *Herrig's Archiv*, Bd. 130, 1913, pp. 286-311.

an interesting question as to the authorship of the two little childlike 'Prayers at bed and at uprising' which are given below. They markedly resemble in metrical form and in tone the little 'God me Speed', which Trevisa inserted at the beginning of his translation from Bartholomew. Thorney's interest in this work by Trevisa makes it possible that he had access to some other MS. by that author, from which he had the prayers copied.

The poems printed are :

1. Vita Beate Anne matris Beate Marie Virginis (fols. 221-30), 658 lines.
2. Psalmi Passionis domini (fols. 174^v-7^v), 167 lines.¹
3. A deuout prayere toward thy bedde at nyght (fol. 276), 24 lines.
4. A deuout prayere at thy vprysyng (fol. 276^v), 32 lines.
5. A Lament of our Lady at The Passion (fols. 276^v-7^v), 120 lines.
6. An Exortacion to auoyde and to put away the seuyn synnes (fols. 275^v-6), 70 lines.²
7. A song on the Battle of Barnet (fol. 244^v), 35 lines.
8. The Birds' Matins (fols. 196^v-7), 70 lines.

Nos 3 and 4, assigned by MacCracken to Trevisa, are printed from the *Archiv*.

A deuout prayere toward thy bedde at nyght.

NOW Ihesu lord, Welle of all goodnes,
For þy gret pyte I the pray
Foryeue me all my wykkydnes,
Wherewith I have greuyd the to day.

Honoure & praysyng to the be,
And pankyng for þy yeftys all,
That I thys day receuyd of the
Now, curteyse Cryst, to þe I call.

Thys nyght from parell thow me kepe
My bodyly reste whyle that I take,
And as long as myn eyen slepe
Late my hert in þy seruyce wake.

¹ Prof. MacCracken suggests these two poems seem to be the work of the author of *Magnificencia Ecclesia*, printed by him from MS. in Publi-

cations of the Modern Language Association of America, Dec. 1909.

² This appears more like Lydgate than others (MacCracken).

For feryng of þe fende oure fo
 Foule dremes, and fro fantasies,
 Kepe me this nyght fro syn also
 In clennes þat I may vpryse.

Saue my good doers fro greuaunce,
 And quyte hem þat þey on me spende,
 Kepe myne enemyes from noyaunce,
 And yeue hem grace to amende.

Mercy, Ihesu, and gramercy,
 My body and soule I the beken,
 In nomine patris & filii
 Et *spiritus Sancti*, Amen.

Explicit.

A deuout prayere at thy vprysyng.

(I)N nomine patris & filii,
 Et Spiritus Sancti, Amen,
 Mercy, Iesu, and gramercy,
 My body and soule I the beken.

Now Iesu lord blessyd þou be
 For all þys nyght þou hast me kept,
 From the fende and hys postee,
 Whether I wakyd or slept.

In grete dissesse, in dedly syn,
 Many on thys nyght fallen hase,
 That mysylf shuld haue fall in,
 Had þou not kept me of thy grace.

Lord yeue me grace to þy worshyp
 Thys day to spende in þy plesaurce,
 And kepe me fro wyked felyschyp
 And from þe fendes encombraunce.

Iesu, my tong þou rewle also
 That I nat speke but hit be nede,
 Hertyly to pray for frend or fo
 And harme no man in worde ne dede.

Cryste yeue me grace of mete and drynke
 Thys day to take mesurably,
 In dedely syn þat I nat synke
 Thorough outrage of foule glotony.

Iesu, my lord, Iesu, my love,
 On all þat I am boundyn to
 Thy blessing sende from heuyn aboue,
 And yeue hem grace þy wyll to do.

My good Angell, þat art to me sende
 From god to be my gouernoure,
 From euyl spyrytes thow me defende,
 And in my disease be my socoure.

Amen.

Explicit.

Trevisa also appears as a poet in his translation of the poetical parts of the *Polychronicon*. Here he breaks away from his Latin original, and we get in his additions examples of his own poetry. The following occur as taken from the Rolls Series :

Vol. i, Book I, chap. xxxvi, p. 415.

Trevisa. In bookes 3e may rede,
 þat kynde failleþ not at nede :
 Whanne no man hadde craft in minde,
 þan of craft halp God and kynde ;
 Whan no techere was in londe,
 Men hadde craft by Goddes sonde ;
 þey þat hadde craft so þenne
 Tauȝte forþ craft to opere menne ;
 Som craft, þat ȝit come nouȝt in place,
 Somme men schal haue by Goddis grace.

Vol. i, Book I, chap. xxxvi, p. 419.

Trevisa. What wight wolde wene
 þat a fend myȝt now gete a childe ?
 Some men wolde mene,
 þat he may no werk soche wilde
 That fend þat gooþ a nyȝt.
 Wommen wel ofte to begile,
 Incubus hatte be ryȝt ;
 And gileþ men oþer while
 Succubus is þat wight ;
 God graunte vs non suche vile.
 Who þat in hir myȝt
 Comeþ wonder hap schal smyle.
 Wiþ wonder dede
 Boþe men and wommen sede

Fendes wyl kepe
 Wip craft, and brynge in on hepe.
 So fendes wilde
 May make wommen bere childe;
 3it neuere in mynde
 Was childe of fendes kynde.
 For wip oute eye
 There myzte childe non such deye.
 Clergie makeþ mynde
 Deep sleep nouȝt fendes kynde;
 But deth slowe Merlyn,
 Merlyn was ergo no gobelyn.

Vol. i, Book I, chap. xxxvi, p. 421.

Trevisa. Siluestris is wood,
 Other wilde of mood;
 Other elles,
 þat at þe wode he dwelles.

PART III

LANGUAGE OF THE MANUSCRIPTS.

INTRODUCTION.

Trevisa did most of his work as a translator while Vicar of Berkeley, Gloucestershire, during the last half of the fourteenth century. His language is therefore West Southern. Thus have concluded Morris and Skeat, and Emerson, in whose works selections have been given from a pure Southern MS., viz. Cotton Tiberius D. vii. The former, referring to it, says: 'The Cotton MS. (here chiefly followed) has been preferred as preserving the author's own (Southern) dialect.'¹ The selection is taken from the *Polychronicon*, Lib. I, parts of caps. 41 and 59, and Lib. VI, cap. 29 (*Specimens*, Part II, pp. 235-47). Emerson says:

'Our selection is from Cotton Tiberius D. vii, a contemporary MS. in pure Southern. The translator, John Trevisa, was vicar at Berkeley, then Canon at Westbury, Gloucestershire. He

¹ Morris and Skeat, *Specimens of Early English*, Part II, 1889, p. 340. Book I, chaps. 41, 42, and 59. Morris, *Specimens of Early English*,

finished his translation in April, 1387, as he tells us. The language is therefore Southern of Gloucestershire in the last half of the fourteenth century. As to language, Trevisa's Southern shows no voicing of initial *f*, *þ*, and *s*, so far as orthography is concerned, but otherwise well represents the dialect. The selection shows *ā* for *hā* (*ha*), besides *hi* (*hy*) in the plural of the third personal pronoun: cf. "Juliana", p. 191.¹

His selection is from the *Polychronicon*, Book I, chaps. 58 and 59 (pp. 220-5).

Mr. Babington uses the Southern MS. in his Rolls Series of the *Polychronicon*, beginning its use in vol. ii, designating it in his notes as γ. In his Introduction he gives some description of it:²

'In the last printed catalogue (of the Br. Mus.) it is said to be wanting, "Desideratur"; but a note in the copy in the Museum says, "Restored, J. Holmes." It had been seen by T. Smith, who wrote the Catalogue of the Cotton MSS. printed at Oxford in 1696, and afterwards by the Hon. W. Burton in the following century, who annotated the copy in the British Museum. It is likewise mentioned in the Report on the Cotton MSS. after the fire, printed in 1732. The MS. is in quarto, on vellum of 296 leaves, each page containing about 37 lines, and is rubricated and slightly illuminated. It contains, moreover, the Dialogue of Dominus and Clericus, and Trevisa's Epistle to Lord Berkeley. It is injured by fire, though not very considerably; a few leaves, however, at the beginning and end are only partially legible. It would seem to be written towards the close of the fourteenth century, or rather a little later. Some extracts from it have been lately printed in Mr. Morris's "Specimens of Early English", whose book first made me acquainted with its existence. It differs much from the standard MS. and δ (i. e. Cambridge H. 1 and Add. 24194) in the form of pronouns, and preserves in some cases the true text, where they have corrupted it.'

Mr. Lumby, in his study and use of this MS., has this remark:

'Some of the forms in this MS. are extremely strange, and worthy of special notice. In the personal pronouns the favourite forms for the first person singular are *ych*, *ich*, and *y*, and for all genders of the third person singular, as well as for

¹ O. F. Emerson, *A Middle English Reader*, p. 311.

² Trevisa's translation of the *Poly-*

chronicon, Rolls Series, ed. Churchill Babington, vol. ii, 1869, Introd., p. xxxviii.

the third person plural, the not unusual form is *a*. This is most common for the masculine, and least common for the neuter of the singular. The feminine likewise appears as *heo*, also the neuter *hyt*, and the plural *hy*. The orthography is also peculiar: *v* is very frequently used instead of *f*, indicating the southern character of the MS., but there occur an equal number of instances of the contrary interchange. There is marked preference also shown for forms with the vowel combinations *eo*, *eu*, *uy*, *aa*, *ee*, *oo*. The mark of the feminine form in nouns is *as* (as *wolvas*, a she-wolf, *godas*, a goddess), and a frequent form of the plural is *on* (as *roperon*, oxen). In the words *live* and *have*, the *v* is always represented by *bb* as *lybbe*, *habbe*, and *y* by *gg* in *ligge* for *lay*, and *sigge* for *say*. Preterites and perfect particles have unusual forms, as *leop*, leapt, *ful*, fell (Sth. forms). Now and then we find a word entirely differing from the reading in the text (St. John's MS.) and of a more antiquated character, as *teer*, clean, *fulled*, baptized, *eldede*. lived.'¹

Mr. Lumby then gives a list of words illustrating the characteristics mentioned.

A complete study of the language of the Cottonian MS. of Trevisa's translation of the *Polychronicon* has been made recently by Bernhard Pfeffer at the University of Bonn.² He uses the selection from Morris and Skeat, also the collections of Babington and Lumby, vols. ii-viii, designated in their notes as γ, and furthermore prints folios 240-60 b of the Cotton MS., occupying pp. 99-144 of his volume. This work has been so excellently and minutely done that I have thought it advisable to study only briefly the vowels and diphthongs in my basic MS., viz. Harl. 1900, and then compare my various MSS. with this, and also with Pfeffer. In doing this I have also listed some of the forms as found in Chaucer's prose,³ in the London documents,⁴ also those by Wiclif,⁵ Peacock,⁵ and Caxton,⁵ and a

¹ J. R. Lumby, *Trevisa's Polychronicon*, Rolls Series, vol. iii, 1871, pp. xxv-xxvii. This passage is quoted by Skeat, *Specimens*, Part II, p. 340, and by Pfeffer in *Die Sprache*, p. iii.

² Bernhard Pfeffer, *Die Sprache des 'Polychronicon' John Trevisa's in der Hs. Cotton Tiberius D. vii*, Diss., Bonn, 1912.

³ Johann Frieshammer, *Die Sprachliche Form der Chaucerschen Prosa* (Morsbach's Studien zur engl. . . . Phil., xlii), Halle, 1900.

⁴ Julius Lekebusch, *Die Londoner Urkundensprache von (1430-1500)*, Diss., 1906.

⁵ I take these forms in the main as given by Lekebusch.

few as used by Capgrave.¹ Mr. Pfeffer has been most careful to compare the language of the Cotton Trevisa MS. with that of other Southern works, viz. the Katherine Group, as worked out by H. Stodte, *Ueber die Sprache und Heimat der Katherine-Gruppe*, Diss., 1887; Robert of Gloucester's *Chronicle*, F. Pabst, *Die Sprache der Reimchronik des Robert of Gloucester*, Diss., Berlin, 1889; and the Gloucester Legends, E. Mohr, *Sprachliche Untersuchungen zu den Mittel-engl. Legenden aus Gloucestershire*, Diss., Bonn, 1888.

In the course of this study it will be seen that the Chetham's MS. is distinctly Southern. Stowe 65 has also many Southern characteristics.

The following abbreviations are used in these notes: D = Dialogue, S = Sermon, M = Methodius Tract; in references to MSS., as in my collation notes, viz. H = Harleian, A = Additional, C = Cambridge, S = Stowe 65, Ch = Chetham.

Pf. = Pfeffer's *Die Sprache*, &c. Fr. = Frieshammer's *Chaucer's Prose*. Lek. = Lekebusch, London Deeds, &c. Dib. = Dibelius's *John Capgrave*.

I. VOWELS AND DIPHTHONGS.

A. Short Vowels.

I. OE. i and ī shortened. (Cf. Morsbach, *ME. Gram.* §§ 112-15.)

Written i and y.

(a) i in closed syllables appears as follows: ȝif D 2/2, miche D 2/1, myche M 110/1, myche D 23/5, over myche M 95/12, wille D 10/14, writ D 5/5, knyȝt D 1/1, ȝrid M 97/11, pricke D 23/14, whiche D 17/15, schrifte D 11/6. Other examples are: schip, bischops, riht, riȝtful, riȝt, ynne, in, hit, ich, ȝiftes, chirche, bygynnep, drynke, drynkeȝ, fisches.

(b) OE. i before consonant groups:

(1) Before -nd: fynde D 31/3, blynde D 6/11, M 96/10, M 110/4, wynde D 6/12, whirlewynde S 89/21.

(2) Before -ng: ȝing D 2/2, ȝynges D 2/14, noȝinge S 68/27.

¹ Wilhelm Dibelius, *John Capgrave and Die Englische Schriftsprache* (*Anglia*, xxiii, pp. 153, 323, 427; xxiv, pp. 211, 269).

(3) Before -ld: mylde D 6/23, D 29/2, wild M 105/6, wylde 105/6.

(c) OE. i in open syllables: wite M 96/9, witeþ S 74/2, lyme D 28/9, lordschipe D 8/9, lordschips D 9/8; also lyuyng, kikeþ, kike, sikernesse, siker, bynymeþ.

Shortened OE. i, in fifty M 97/16, fifte S 40/3.

Manuscripts.

OE. *ȝif* always appears as *ȝef* in Ch; in other MSS. as above. Quite regularly *miche* or *myche* appears in H. In S nearly always as *myche*, in C and Ch as *moche*. We find it occasionally in A as *meche*.

Ch has *whoche* quite regularly for *whiche* in other MSS. Ch has *byschops*. In appears as *ynne*, *yn*, and *in*. *Hit*, *hyt*, it appear in all MSS. although S prefers it, and Ch *hyt*.

Iche is found a few times in A and C. *I* is found once or twice in all the five MSS. in the same place.

ȝeftes is found in Ch, *cherche* always in Ch, *lordschepe* in S Ch.

In Cot. MS. *y* is the prevailing form. There we find *wheche*, in addition to *whiche* and *whoche*. *Church* occurs near *cherch*. *Fynde* is found near *veynde* (Pf., pp. 6, 7). This last form is not found in the MSS.

In Chaucer OE. *i* or *y* is found usually as *i* (Fr., p. 14), e.g. *shrift*, *briddes*, *midde*, *wikked*, *siker*, *wyngis*, *bringith*, *blynde*, etc.

In London documents (Lek., p. 11) *third*, *bryng*, *middell*, *child*, *blynde*, also *i* to *e* in *therd*, *wete*, *hedirto*, *wedowes*.

Wycliffe has usually *i* or *y*, rarely *e* or *u*, *Pecock* as a rule *i* (Lek., p. 16).

OE. *swilc* appears in H as follows: *siche* D 4/1, D 9/3, D 14/11, M 108/15, *soche* D 16/12 (S *such*), *seche* D 29/3, *suche* S 42/21. The (1) of above is written *such* in all the other MSS., (2) *such* Ch S, (3) *soche* Ch, *seche* A, *suche* C S, (4) *soche* A Ch. Thus Ch prefers *soche*, C S *suche*, while A H have *ciche* or *seche*.

Fr. (p. 15) points out that the best Chaucer MSS. have *swich*; *such* is not found in Ellesmere MSS., but it occurs in some of the other MSS.; also *swiche* and *syche* are found.

II. OE. *y* and *ȳ* shortened. (Morsbach, *ME. Gram.*
§§ 127-33.)

This vowel in Midland dialect remains an *i* or *y* (Morsbach, *Gram.*, § 7, 2), while in Sth. it becomes *u* (Morsbach, 9, 2 (a), 2). The only MS. which shows Sth. regularly is Ch. We often find *u* in other MSS.

(a) *y* in closed syllables: first D 9/12, M 95/14, firste S 39/20, myrpe D 26/8, synne D 8/13, S 48/17, knyitting D 15/14, y-knitt D 15/3, hilles M 108/13, pilke M 102/5, fligt M 103/16, briggis S 48/6, fille D 17/16, Ch vulle, S fulle.

(b) Before consonant groups:

(1) -nd: kynde D 16/10, kynde M 105/7, S 41/1.

(2) -ld: buylde M 97/12, buyylde M 98/4, bildyngis S 48/3.

(c) In open syllables: bysynesse D 9/2, busy S 47/19, bisy S 47/28, bisiliche S 50/1, euel 22/6, 24/3, S 45/3, buryng S 42/12, buryeyng S 42/27.

Shortened OE. *ȳ*, filpe M 96/8.

Manuscripts.

The Chetham MS. is the most consistently Sth. Even it has bildyngis, S 48/3, where the other MSS. (except H) have buldings; S 47/31, all the MSS. (except H) have ybulde. D 9/12 furste A, vurste Ch. D 26/8 murpe Ch S, merpe A C. Briggis in S 48/7 is written brugges in all the MSS. Kynde S 41/1 appears in MSS. as kunde, while the same word in D 16/10 appears as kunde only in Ch. Synne is written in all the MSS. as *i* or *y*. The *y* in busy varied, *e*, *y*, or *u*. Even Ch is not regular in its usage, e.g. S 47/9, H has regular Sth *u*, while A C have besy, Ch bysy. In S 47/28, H has bisy, while A Ch S have busy. S 48/10 we find S busy, A besy, and Ch bysy. Dude is found in Ch S, while A C have dede, H has almost always dide. Euel is the regular form, but yuel is found CS, D 24/3.

In the Cot. MS. the form is *u*, hull, sulle, pulke (Pf., pp. 11 ff.). Chaucer has usually *y*, also *i*. OE. *wyrca* appears as *werken*, also as *wirkyng*, etc.; first and furste, knyitting and knettyng, bisy, bisily, bysynesse, etc. Regularly *yvel*, although *evil* occurs; *filthe* and *felthe* (Fr., pp. 16-21). Wycliffe has usually *y*, *yfel*, *bysig*, *byldan*. Peacock as a rule

i, bisie, stirid; Caxton has e, in mery, besy, euyll (Lek., p. 16).

III. OE. ũ. (Morsbach, *ME. Gram.* §§ 121-6.)

Usually written u, sometimes o.

(a) In closed syllables: vppon D 3/1, 6/17, sunne M 98/9, somme, some D 6/21, S 52/9, þurȝ M 105/4 (OE. þurh), fulle S 50/30, þus, also ful, fulfilled. This appears regularly as fol in Ch. This is also the form in Cot. although vulle is found (Pf., p. 10).

(b) Before consonant groups :

(1) Before nd: wonder D 1/1, S 50/20, vnder D 1/3, ybounde D 14/12, ybounde S 44/12, hound D 19/12. Also hundrid, founden, yfounde, fonded, fonden, fonde.

(2) Before -ng: tonge S 39/16.

(3) Before -rn: ouertorned D 1/2, turne S 39/18.

(c) In open syllables: sones M 96/7, sone S 91/5, foules M 97/6, comeþ D 6/23, cupes D 6/14, loue S 52/18, dore (AS. duru) S 89/35.

Manuscripts.

In Ch we find always apon for upon; ful appears as fol in Ch; tonge also written as tunge; turne and torne. Pfeffer (p. 11) points out such forms as teurne and teorneþ in Cotton MS.

In Chaucer OE. ũ appears as som, sonne, tonne, somme, loove, above (shortened OE. ū), thurgh, thirst, shulder, hound, tonge and tunge, hunger and honger, etc. (Fr., pp. 23 ff.).

In London documents it appears as cup, full, utter, ground, wondre, tonne, hundrid, come, love, sone, cursed. Caxton has tunge and tonge, gunnes and gones, further and ferther (Lek., pp. 74 ff.).

IV. OE. ö. (Morsbach, *ME. Gram.* §§ 116-20.)

(a) ö in closed syllables: flok M 105/7, horsis M 105/15, folkis M 101/2, for D 3/3, god D 24/6, goddes D 22/9 (gen. sg.), gospel D 15/16, norþe M 98/13, storm S 89/21, forþe (OE. forþ) D 15/7, D 29/8 (Ch vorþ).

(b) Before consonants :

(1) Before -ld : wolde, nolde.

(2) Before -rn : corn S 60/19.

(3) Before -rd : wordes D 5/2, S 41/25, borde S 89/34.

(c) In open syllables : openlich D 8/2, openliche S 50/3, y-tore D 13/3, oxes D 17/9, oxen D 17/10, tohaleþ (OE. hōlian) D 24/11, bodies M 101/8, bodilich S 46/33, foleweþ D 14/16, D 22/7 (Ch volweþ).

In Chaucer's prose very often the o was long before consonant groups, e. g., soonges, woordes, hoord, foordes, etc. (Fr., p. 21).

In London deeds, the o appears as in our MSS. except u in place of o, in murdre, murdres, murtheres, murthers ; also wuld and would appear occasionally, but wolde is the usual form (Lek., p. 64).

Pfeffer points out a form þurste, prt. for OE. dorste ; also the form þorste. He also finds the writing before -ld to be o, oo as foold (Pf., p. 8).

V. OE. ē. (Morsbach, *ME. Gram.* §§ 106-11.)

(a) ē in closed syllables : telle D 10/13, wedlock D 14/16, weddinge M 25/1, þraschip (OE. þerscan) D 17/15, wrecched D 24/11, reste, nesche D 26/9, beddes D 26/9, elles M 105/3, S 46/1, strenȝpe D 2/3, M 106/14, streeche M 109/15, drenchid M 109/10, berne D 17/16, helle M 109/10, wiþsigginge D 13/3, fecche D 6/18, sillers D 6/25, clerk D 7/5, clerkes D 15/9.

(b) e before consonants :

(1) Before -ld : felde D 10/8, selde S 52/8.

(2) Before -nd : ende S 89/15, ende D 21/7, yspend p. past. D 22/11.

(3) Before -ng : Englund, strenger, Englund.

(c) In open syllables : mete, weder, forbedyng, aforbeding, speke, bedemen, bedes, whether.

The only peculiarity to be noted here is the i or y forms in only a few words of our MSS., although Pfeffer points out a number found in the Cotton MS. For a full discussion of this change with numerous examples refer to Morsbach's *ME. Gram.* § 109. The only examples we have are wiþsigginge, sigge,

and sillers. Sigge or sygge is found usually in Ch, while S has segge; the others usually show seye or saye. Sillers appears in H A and C. C has selleres, Ch has sullers. Pfeffer (p. 5) gives the following with the i or y formes: stryngpe, stringpe, strynger, stringer, drynch, stynch, blynche. Some of these are to be found in the MSS., and have the regular e form. Morsbach (p. 144) puts togidre, togider, among the examples in this list.

Chaucer's prose usually has e: lente, webbe, drencheth, strenges, kembde (OE. *cemban*), feldes, selde, feeldes; in open syllables: spere, bere, whether. Forms in i occur as dirk and derke (Fr., pp. 8 ff.). The London documents have sette, best, wedde, feld, heuy, weder, beddes, swere, seller, sell (three times sille). Wycliffe has i and e forms.

VI. OE. *ä*. (Morsbach, *ME. Gram.* §§ 87 ff.)

I. Not before nasals.

(a) Closed syllables: asse D 6/18, D 6/24, S 90/19, habbeþ, found only in S and Ch.

(b) Open syllables: haue D 1/7, haueþ D 2/12, made D 2/1, D 3/7, make D 3/9, same D 5/16, face M 98/7, tale D 15/6, naked D 26/5, raþer S 43/29.

II. Before nasals:

(a) Not consonant groups: man D 1/4, S 89/19, mannes S 91/6, þan S 40/26, þanne S 41/18, from S 51/15 (always *vram* in Ch, and *fro* in S), whanne D 5/12 (whan A C S), name, lame, answerde, þankeþ, many (meny A C Ch).

(b) Before consonant groups:

(1) Before -nd: lond, londes, hond, hondes, understonde, stonde, wipstondyng.

(2) Before -ng: stronge, strounge, longe.

(3) Before -mb: wombe S 91/10.

Pfeffer points out (p. 2) that OE. *ä* before nasals, not consonant groups, is always *a* in Robert of Gloucester, and in Gloucester Legends, but *o* in the Katherine group. This vowel behaves in our group of MSS. as it does in the Cotton MS. (Pf., pp. 1, 2). In Chaucer we find the forms þenne and whenne, when. These are not found in our MSS. Neither do

we find þonne or whonne. Before consonant groups the forms in the Chaucer MSS. vary a or o. In London documents o and a forms are found before consonant groups (Lek., pp. 51 ff.; note his table, p. 53; also Morsbach's *ME. Gram.* § 88).

Fro as found in S is Scand. (Björkman, p. 100).

VII. OE. æ. (Morsbach, *ME. Gram.* §§ 95-105.)

(a) Closed syllables: þat D 1/7, hadde D 1/8, D 6/12, S 89/6, fadres D 2/11, fader D 7/4, S 51/20, faste, after, spradde, almes. OE. mæsse appears always, masses D 21/2; in Cot. MS. this appears as mas and messe, Pf., p. 3; Morsbach's *ME. Gram.* §§ 130, 131; crafte, gladnesse, small, togidres D 14/12, D 15/14, togidre M 1/10, M 100/3, togidres S 89/20.

(b) Open syllables: water, fader D 7/4, S 51/20, bare. Togedres is found always in Ch, also in S, and occasionally in A. Both forms occur in London documents and Chaucer (Morsbach, *ME. Gram.* § 131; *Schriftsprache*, p. 30). The form in Cot. MS. is togedders (Pf., p. 4).

B. Long Vowels.

I. OE. ī.

This is written i or y: tymes D 1/2, D 6/2, tyme D 6/3, S 91/5, wise, wyn, fyue, lif, side, sides, stryue, wyues, wif, wives, alyue, styzeuþ, abide, wide, OE. wīfman, wymmen, S 73/9.

The London dialect has womman (sg.), wōmmen, women (plu.), also wȳmen. Chaucer has womman (sg.), wōmmen (plu.); Caxton both forms (Morsbach, *ME. Gram.* § 112). The form wēmmen does not occur in our MSS.

OE. hī appears as hy in Ch, as hey in S, but does not occur in A C and H. There the form þei is always used. The form huy does not occur, but is found in Cot. MS. (Pf., p. 18).

OE. i is shortened in fifty M 97/16.

II. OE. ŷ.

hyde M 108/12, mynde S 50/30, litel (OE. lȳtel) S 68/22, S 78/12; fyre (OE. fȳr) S 45/2 (fuyre S), fier S 91/10, fuyre S 81/70; huyre S 89/32 (OE. hȳr), hyred D 17/10 (hyre A C, huyre Ch S).

In Cot. MS. the usual form is *uy*, although *u* is very common. *Ruperen* S 41/18 (*reperen* A, *roperen* CS), OE. *hrūðeru* (sg. *hrūðer*), also *hrȳðeru* (sg. *hrȳðer*). Morsbach, *ME. Gram.*, p. 169. *N.E.D.* has only *roperen* from OE. *hrȳðeren*.

III. OE. ū.

It is written *ou* or *ow*. These forms are found side by side in the various MSS. *soupe* M 101/5, *foule* M 103/6, *defoulip* M, *moupe* D 17/9, S 90/12, *hous* D 10/7, *down*, *doun*, *pousand*, *about*, *now*, *how*.

But (OE. *būtan*) appears quite regularly in H A C as *but*, often in A C as *bot* or *bote*, while in Ch it appears almost without exception as *bote*. In H it occurs as *bote*. The London speech has the same two forms, *ow* being the more common (Lekebusch, p. 78; Morsbach, *Schriftsprache*, p. 48).

IV. OE. ō.

Written *o* and *oo*. The scribes appeared to have no regular way of writing, as we find the same man using *o*, with a final *e*, alongside of *oo* without the final *e*. Sometimes the same writer will have both *oo* and final *e*. Ch has very often simply *o*, and no final *e*.

The form *ou* for OE. *ō* does not appear in the MSS. It was quite common in Cotton (Pfeffer, p. 19).

good. sb. D 2/3, *anoper* D 6/3, *blode* D 6/4 (all MSS.), *book* D 4/12 (all MSS.), *sope* D 11/1, *soþness* D 28/6 (*sooþnes* A, *soþenes* C, *soþnes* Ch), *doom* D 13/2 (*dome* C, *dom* Ch), *doome* D 15/10 (*dome* A C, *doom* S, *dom* Ch), *hook* D 31/2 (*hoke* A, *hooc* S).

Shortened forms: *moneþe* S 49/2 in H (*monþe* other MS.).

In the London documents are found such forms as *goodes*, *footes*, *blood*, *doon*, also *godes*, *blode*. Chaucer's prose has the two forms, occasionally *oe*, as *mone* written *moene*.

In Cot. MS. Pfeffer (p. 19) points out a number of forms in *ou*, e. g. *vorsouk*, *houk* (OE. *hūc*), *hourdom*, *toules* (OE. *tōl*).

V. OE. ē.

(a) Appears as *e* or *ee*: *feet* D 1/3 (all MSS.), *hede* D 7/7, D 10/15 (*heede* S), *heede* D 22/1 (*hede* A C Ch), *hede* D 22/1

(heede S), demep D 10/16, deme D 11/8, mede D 17/6, in all MSS. but C med, byhiȝte (OE. hæt) M 101/2. Pfeffer points out (p. 17) a great many examples of this form in Cot. It appears as het, heet, byheet, hyȝte, byhyȝt, hyt, hiȝte, &c., here (OE. hēr), herto, here, herof, hereby. OE. þēs, þese S 51/22 (þues Ch); þues is a common form in Cot. (Pf., p. 29).

(b) Shortened ē: kepte, recchiȝ, fedde, blessid; OE. hē appears as a in S Ch, otherwise as he.

The writing y in our MSS. does not appear for OE. ē, as it does sometimes in Cot. (Pf., p. 17), neither do such forms as eo, ue in weoȝe, wueȝe appear (Pf., p. 18).

In the London documents the form is usually e (Lek., p. 30). Chaucer has both forms (Fr., p. 26).

VI. OE. ā. (Morsbach, *ME. Gram.* §§ 134-7.)

The writing in Sth. and Mid. appears as o, oo, in Nth. as a (Morsbach, § 134). Pfeffer, quoting Pabst and Mohr, shows that o, oo is the writing in Robert of Gloucester and the Gloc. Legends; but the Katherine-Gruppe have nearly always a. The London documents have always o, oo (Lekebusch, p. 68). The Chaucer Prose has o, oo (Fr., p. 33).

lore D 6/25, loore S 87/17, stoonēs D 28/10, stoon D 29/2, stones M 104/8, hooly D 1/8, holy D 2/1, clopes D 6/21 (all MSS.), cloȝ D 23/2 (clooȝ AS.), cloped, clopinge, loues D 6/14, oon, anoon, aloon, noon, wroȝe M 96/17, wrooȝe S 58/11, gostlich S 47/26, goostliche S 89/27, oȝ S 46/20 (all MSS.). Also smote, abrode, so, lord, liflode, knyȝthode

Pfeffer (p. 14) shows that Cot. MS. has shortened OE. ā written a: halwyngē, halwon, haly, hamward.

Pecock has o, oo, e.g. go, goostli, oonli, noon, holy, mo, moost, oon, tho, &c. (Schmidt, p. 4).

The various MSS. seem to have no special rule for o or oo. In D 28/10. stoonēs H, but stones in other MSS. In D 29/2, stoon H S, but stone A C Ch. D 29/5 stoon in all MSS. but Ch, which has stone.

ON. ā is found in the word fro. This is found frequently in some of the MSS. as D 9/13 (fro A C S, vram Ch).

OE. fās nom. plu. appears as þese, but in S and Ch as þues. þues is one of the forms found in Cot. MS. (Pfeffer, p. 14).

VII. OE. *æ*. (Morsbach, *ME. Gram.* § 95.)

It is written *e*, *ee*, and gives in ME. open *ē* (*ē*).

*æ*¹ = Goth *ai*, Angl. *āē*.

*æ*² = WG. *ā*, Goth *ē*, Angl. *ē*.

(a) The length kept : *delere*, *menyng*, *neuere*, *euerche* (OE. *æfre*, *ælc.*) ; found in S always as *ech*, in A and C very often as *euery*, but otherwise as *euereche* or *eueriche*.

OE. *læs*, *lasse* (all MSS.), *leche* (all MSS.), *dedes* D 6/26, D 11/9.

(b) Shortened forms :

(1) Sh. *æ*¹ : *wreppe* S 45/20 (OE. *wræðo*), *wreppe* S, *wrep* D 29/12 (*wreppe* MSS.), *heestes* D 6/13, *hestes* D 13/11 (*heestes* S). OE. *ær*, *er* S 48/2 (H S Ch) or (A C). This appears in Cot. MS. as *ar* (Pf., p. 15).

(2) Sh. *æ*² : *drede* S 45/7, S 88/25.

Very often in Cot. MS. appears as *a* (Pf., p. 16).

OE. *þær*, *þefore* (always in Ch *þarvore* ; cf. Cot. MS., Pf., p. 16).

OE. *hwær*, *where*, *wherof*. This appears very frequently in S as *whar*. This is not constant. Pfeffer (p. 16) shows that both forms are found for the compounds of *þer*, in Cot. MS., e.g. *þer-inne*, *þar-inne* ; *þer-fore*, *þar-fore* ; *þer-fram*, *þar-vram*. In Ch *þar* is always found alone and in compounds.

OE. *ænig* appears in other MSS. written in the three ways *any*, *eny*, *ony*. In London Charters the proportion is : *any* 78 per cent., *eny* 20 per cent., *ony* 2 per cent. (Lek., p. 35 ; *Schriftsprache*, p. 44).

OE. *æ* > *e*, *ee*, appears in Pecoek (Sch., p. 5). In London Charters (Lek., p. 35). For OE. *þær*, *hwær*, *wæron*, Wycliffe and Pecoek have only *e* (Lek., p. 37).

OE. *æ* shortened appears in Pecoek as *a* or *e*, e.g. *neuerthelasse*, also *neuertheles*, *sprad* (past part.) and *spred*, *radde* and *red*, past part. (Schmidt, p. 6). London Charters have *e* (*Schriftsprache*, p. 44 ; Morsbach, *ME. Gram.*, § 96, 2 b).

Chaucer has generally *a*, but always *slepte*, *mente*, *lente*, and occasionally *dredde*, *y-spred* for usual *dradde*, *spradde* (Sch., p. 6). *Lesse* occurs oftener than *lasse* (ten Brink, §§ 50, 106).

C. *The Short Diphthongs.*I. *Breaking and i-umlaut.*

(a) OE. ea before r + cons. : harme D 23/14, hardere S 51/10, mask S 91/27, armes S 89/21, afterward M 94/11.

(b) i-umlaut of ea in WS. = ie, y, i, in Ang. e (Bülbring, 179 a 1) vynȝerde D 10/8. Pecock, London Charters, Chaucer have ȝerd (*Schrift.*, p. 50, ten Brink, Par. 48).

(c) OE. ea before l + cons. : also, alle, al, holdeþ, olde.

(d) OE. ea before h, h + cons. : eiȝte S 39/15, liȝt M 95/11.

(e) i-umlaut of ea before h, h + cons. = in WS. ie, early WS. i or y (Bülbring, 179): myȝt D 5/3, D 6/26, nyȝt 52/28, S 89/1.

(f) OE. eo from e before r + cons. : werk D 17/6 (work in all other MSS.), werkes D 20/9 (workes only in S). The London Charters have werk; Pecock has werk (*Sch.*, p. 12). Herte M 96/17, S 47/11. This is the regular writing in all the MSS. Pecock has herte, also London Charters, although Lekebusch points out the modern form hearts (*Lek.*, p. 28).

Derk D 1/5, in all MSS.

Worschip D 1/8 (always written werschip in S); D 10/6, written o in all MSS. except S, which is werschip. The regular form in Cot. MS. is o (*Pfeffer*, p. 32) influenced by the preceding w.

Erþe D 5/14, 6/6 (eorþe Ch), D 7/12 (eorþe Ch), D 10/5 (eorþe Ch); also berke, berkyng, swerde; sweord is found in Cot. MS. (*Pf.*, p. 22), lerned D 18/13 (lurned Ch, leurned S); *Pf.*, p. 22, points out a number of these forms with u and eu in Cot.; worthi S 43/24. This is the regular form. (See also *Pfeffer*, p. 32.)

The form in Chaucer is e, although workes, workmen is found (*Fr.*, p. 12).

(g) OE. eo before l + cons. : OE. seolf, sielf, sylf (*Siever's Cook Gram.*, p. 52); hymself D 3/7 (self A C), hymself D 5/10 (self A C, sulf Ch); mylk M 101/10. The three forms are found throughout the MSS. Ch favours the u. Pecock has silf, London Charters and Chaucer self.

II. The u- and o/a-umlaut.

(a) OE. eo, u-umlaut of e: heuene D 8/6, D 10/5, world D 3/2, D 4 14.

(b) OE. eo, u-umlaut of i: siluer D 27/5; M 104/8. London Charters has forms as selver (*Schrift.*, p. 54). In D 27/5 the reading in Ch S is selver. Björkman (p. 112) thinks the form silver (OE. silfor) in Midland dialects may be influenced by OW. Scand. silfr, while selver, the regular form (OE. siolfor, sioluftr, seolfor) depends on u-mutation. The form in Cot. MS. is selver (Pf., p. 26).

III. Effect of Palatals in Short Diphthongs.

(a) OE. ea (WG. a): schal D 6/1, S 41/23 (Pf., p. 23, finds shal in Cot.), schalt D 4/11, schal S 14/17, 3af D 7/13 (all MSS.).

(b) OE. ie: 3eue D 2/2, D 4/13, 3eueþ D 2/2, y3eue, for3eue, 3eldip D 21/16. OE. 3iet, 3it appears as 3itt, 3it, or 3ut, also rarely as 3et. S 48/33, 3itt in H A C, but 3ut in S Ch; 3ett S 50/34 in H, but 3it A C, 3ut S, 3et Ch; 3it S 51/21, 3ut S Ch. Pecoock has 3it always (Schmidt, p. 13), Chaucer yet in Ellesmere, but other MSS. write yit or yitte (Fr., p. 11). The London Charters have 3eve, I-yeuen, yeten, geten, yet (*Schrift.*, p. 56). Some writers place 3if in this list, e. g. Frieshammer (p. 11) has OE. 3ief, 3if appears as yif and if in Chaucer's prose; always if in Pecoock (Schmidt, p. 13), as yyf (yf) in London Charters (*Schrift.*, p. 56).

D. The Long Diphthongs.

I. OE. ēa (Gothic au).

Grete D 1/8, D 6/26, D 11/1, S 45/31. This is written in some of the MSS. greet, and quite often in Ch as gret. Breed D 6/14, brede S 45/29, deþ D 6/15, depliche D 7/14, dede, deed, 3ere, hei3þe (WS. hēahðo), nei3 (see under ēa + g, h), deef, vneþe, hey3 (hi3e A C S, hys Ch) (see under ēa + g. hl).

Shortened ēa: chaffre (OE. cēap) S 45/28, grettest S 46/2. This diphthong appears in Cot. MS. as above (Pfeffer, p. 27). Pecoock writes it as e, ee (Schmidt, p. 14).

II. i-umlaut of $\bar{e}a$.

Herde (p. part.) S 48/4 (I-herd A C, y-hurd S Ch); here inf. S 47/31 (huyre A S Ch), here inf. S 49/28 (huyre S, hyre Ch), here inf. S. 51/8 (hire A C, huyre S, hiyre Ch). In Cot. MS. the following forms appear: hiere inf., hurde, yhurd, huyreþ, hyre, hyryng (Pfeffer, p. 25).

III. OE. $\bar{e}o$.

Freedom D 2/3; this is written freodom in Cot. MS. (Pfeffer, p. 28). Beþ D 2/4 (buþ Ch), beþ S 51/3 (buþ Ch); this always occurs as buþ in Ch, rarely so in S, otherwise as beþ or beep; once in H we find be, once in H buþ D 33/8. The usual form in Cot. MS. is buþ, although beþ is found also (Pf., p. 30). Nedip D 3/9, needip D 14/12 (neodeþ Ch); nedes, nedeful D 16/13 (nedful A S, nedfol Ch), nede D 29/7 (neode Ch). This is written in both forms in Cot. MS., nedeþ and neodeþ (Pf., p. 30); nedfol and neodfol, nedy and neody are also found; fendes D 6/12, deueles D 6/16, prest D 10/2 (preost A C Ch), D 32/1, prestes (preostes Ch, pruestes S), pruest is found in Cot. (Pf., p. 28); lese D 21/7 (luese Ch S). Pfeffer, p. 28, lists a number of forms in u and ue, e. g. luse, luseþ, luf, luer, luesyng; leese D 32/16 (lese A C luese, Ch S). þeeues D 11/13 (þueues Ch); the form þueues is common in Cot. MS. (Pf., p. 28), þeeues D 30/6 (þefes A C S, þueues Ch), þeeþþe D 14/2 (þefte A C, þuyfthe Ch, þefþe S); frendschip S 49/19, frendes S 90/27, teþinge S 45/28 (tiþyng A C, also tiþinges and tueþinges A), chesip, fendes, ferþe (fourþe A C, veurþe Ch), frelich. OE. $\bar{se}oc$, $\bar{si}oc$ appears as seke (sike, syke in A C Ch), sekenesse (siknes MSS.). This appears in Cot. MS. as syyk and syk (Pf., p. 29). OE. $\bar{h}eom$ appears in all the MSS. except Ch as hem. In that MS. always as ham.

E. Short Vowels and Spirants.

(1) OE. $a+3$: lawes D 1/2, lawe, 2/8, wiþdrawing D 5/13.

(2) OE. $\bar{a}+3$: dayes, sey, seyn (seiþ A C, syggeþ Sh). Forms as sey are usually written thus or seie in all MSS. except Ch (sygge), and S (usually segge); also forms such as seiþ, iseyge (ysegge S), seide are found.

(3) OE. $e + 3$: wey, weyes (wey₃es Ch).

(4) OE. $i + ht$: almy₃ty.

(5) OE. $o + h$: þou₃t, dou₃tres, wrou₃t, brou₃t. Both forms nou₃t, no₃t are found in MSS. S is fond of no₃t. Not is found frequently in A C.

(6) OE. $o + g$: bowes.

F. Long Vowels and Spirants.

(1) OE. $\bar{a} + 3$: owne, always ounē in Ch.

(2) $\bar{a} + ht$, $\bar{a} + g$: tau₃t, ei₃per, e₃per, keyes (OE. cæg).

(3) $\bar{o} + h$, 3 : ynow₃ (inow in MSS.).

(4) $\bar{e} + 3$: twey, tweyne.

G. Diphthongs and Spirants.

(1) OE. $ea + h$, ht : sey₃ (OE. seah, seigh A, sigh C, sy₃ Ch S). (Bülbring, *Abh.*, pp. 67 ff.)

(2) i-umlaut of $ea + ht$ (see above under C, short diphthongs).

(3) $\bar{e}a + 3$, h : nei₃bores (ney₃hebors A Ch), hey₃ (hi₃e A C S, hy₃ Ch), hei₃este, hei₃lich, nei₃.

OE. $\bar{p}eah$: þou₃ (þeigh A C, þey S, þey₃ Ch). This appears in Cot. as þey, þey₃ (Pf., p. 36). These latter are Sth. forms, while þou₃ is Nth. (O. Icel. þō). For full discussion of this word see Björkman, pp. 72-3.

(4) $\bar{e}o + h$, ht : li₃tliche, ali₃t.

H. Vowels and Diphthongs + w.

(1) $\bar{a} + w$: no₃per (or nāw₃per), soules, knowleche, knowi₃þ, sowe₃þ, ou₃t, slowe (OE. slāw).

(2) OE. $\bar{o} + w$: yblowe (past part.).

(3) $\bar{e}a + w$: fewe, schewe, schewide, schewid.

(4) OE. $\bar{e}o + w$: ytrowe, trewe, trowe, truliche, trewemen, tru₃pe (trew₃pe S), trowynge, trowi₃þ, newe.

(5) OE. $\bar{a} + w$: lewed.

II. CONSONANTS.

(1) OE. *c* appears generally as *ch* and *k*.

(a) Initially : chirche, chaffare, chese.

(b) Medially and finally : þecchi₃þ, leche, rychesses, þenke, myche, berke, knowleche, -liche; *ech* found in S; also *such*, *siche*.

In the Norse words *take* and *siker*, *k* is kept.

(2) OE. *sc*: *schal*, *schulde*, *schueleþ*, *worschippe*, *flesche*, *schame*, *schewe*, *bisshop* (in some of the MSS. *bisshop*), *fische*; *sk* is found in *aske* (often written *axe*).

(3) OE. *ȝ* initially: *ȝeue*, *ȝiftes*, *ȝou*, *ȝoure*, *ȝeldiþ*, *ȝit*, *ȝet*, *ȝut*, *ȝif*, *ȝaf*, *ȝere*, *ȝynȝerde*, *aȝenes*; *g* in *bygynnyng*, *bygynne*.

OE. *cȝ*: *brigges*.

(4) OE. *f* initial, always appears as *f* in four of the MSS. *H A C S*, but as *v* in *Ch*. Compare this with *Cot. MS.* (Pf., p. 72).

(5) OE. *þ*, *ð*. *þ* is written for initial *d* in *dewe* *S* 44/19, *S* 45/26, in *S*. In *S* 51/1, for *dewe* in *H A C*, we find *þewe* in *S Ch*. Also in *S* 50/20, for *dar* *H*, *durre* *A C*, we find *þere* *S* and *purre* *Ch*.

III. LOAN WORDS.

French.

Distruyed, *distruye*, *distrie*, *diſtried*, *rule* (*reule* *Ch*, *rewle* *A S*), *despised*, *noble*, *gouverne*, *money*, *cosyns*, *forme*, *scornes*, *denye* (*denyue* *Ch*), *sotil*, *princes*, *vicarie*, *preue*, *preues*, *douteþ*, *crowned*, *expowne*, *cuntrey*, *huge* (OF. *ahuge* or *ahoge*, *hoyge* *S*), *huge*, *foly*, *pore* (*poure* *A Ch*), *socour*, *ture*, *soudeyn*, *grucchyng*, *grucchiþ* (OF. *groucier*), *chaungide*, *statutes*, *maner*, *chalengide*, *catel*, *ordinaunces*, *passion*, *sauter*, *naciouns*, *sacrifice*, *praye* (*preyre* *S* in *D* 2/1), *counseil* (*counsail* *A C Ch S*), *ordeyneþ*, *yordeyned*, *eyr* (*heire* *C S*), (OF. *heir*, *eir*), *dewe*, *choys*, *feeste*, *palys*, *wasters*, *pale*, *state*, *dampned*, *chastee*, *caases*, *matrimonye*, *wages*, *ensaumple*, *sclaundre*, *secunde*, *felony*, *reson*, *preche*, *beestis*, *Empyre*, *Emperour*, *mageste*, *maieste*, *heritage*, *reheresed*, *relief*, *medleþ*, *secular*, *noyse*, *seynt*, *plede*, *pleyn*, *ſayled*, *pees* (AN. *pes*, OF. *pais*), *apaide*, *paye*, *suffriþ*, *suget*, *ducherye*, *peple*, *auctorite*, *caucioun*, *cause*, *bobans* (OF. *bobance*, *boub*-, *beub*-, *bueb*-, *bub*-, *-anche*, *Godefroy*, also *N.E.D.*), *D* 21/3, *bobaunce* *A C S*.

Spouses *S* 71/6 (OF. *espūse*), *spouse-bruch* *S* 57/19.

Old Norse.

Bope (ON. *Scand.* *baðir*—*Skeat*, *N.E.D.*, *Sweet*), *Björkman* says 'may perhaps—at least in part—quite as well

be derived from OE. *ba þa* (p. 108), cf. Einenkel, *Anglia*, 27/43. Cros, OIr. *cros* from ON. *kroos* (*N.E.D.*); dye, ON. *deyja*, Björkman, p. 66, 'may be English as well as Scand., but is probably Scand.' (See *Dial. Prov.*, pp. 12 ff.). Wyndes (ON. *vengr*); þouʒ, see above, p. cxlix; prout, from AS. *prut*, according to Skeat and *N.E.D.*; Skeat thinks Icel. *pruðr* borrowed from AS.; ytake, wrong, cast; skyn (ON. *skinn*); þralles (Icel. *þraell*); skyte (ON. *skil*); same (ON. *samr*); meke (ON. *miuk-r*)—*N.E.D.*; birþe; fro—see above, also Björkman, p. 100.

IV. INFLECTIONS.

Nouns.

OE. endings have disappeared, except *e*. The use of final *e* is not regular. Very often, however, we find the vowel indicated long by a doubling or by use of final *e*, e.g. *dome* in A C Ch, but in S *doom*. The scribe in S is very fond of doubling the vowel, where the other MSS. have a single vowel with a final *e*. In *moupe*, ac. case, mas., we find a final *e* in H C, but no final *e* in A Ch S.

There are a few OE. fem. noun-stems, where the *e* is kept: *synne*, *myrþe*, *lore*, *loore*, *strengþe*, *helle*, *mede*, *filþe*, *dede*, *teþinge* (near *teþing*).

In the following fem. stems the *e* is absent: *nyȝt*, *world*, also *worlde*, *book*. The *e* is found in the masc. and neut. nouns: *wiche*, *wynde*, *felde*, *kynge*, *ȝere*, *name*, *lame*, *weye*, also *way*.

Genitive sing. ends in *es*, *is*, *his*, *hys*; *is* is very common in H and sometimes in A; *hys* is the usual form in Ch; *kyngis* H, *kynges* C, *kyng hys* Ch, *Cristis* H, *Cristes* A C, *Crist hys* Ch, *Crist is* S. Near by we find *Cristes* in all MSS. except Ch, which is as above.

These examples are from H: *Alisaundres bille*, *eny freres persone*, *goddess lawe*, *almes dede*, *John de Palliaco hys*, *Pope Martyns maundment*, *Seynt Austyns bokes*, *a manes soule*, *curatours oxe*, *bischops bischopriche*, *Zebedeus sones*, *þe apostels decre*, *Sathanas hys angel*.

We find a few cases of gen. sing. without ending: in *her fader hous*, *under fader & moder keping*, *children frendes*, in

þe fader riȝt side. We find þe oxes mouþe (oxe hys Ch, oxe is S).

The plural ends in s, is, es. Is is very common in H; s is found in Fr. nouns. Þingis, foules, þeeues, bedes, tepingis, weþeres, fadres & modres, ladyes, resouns, parischons, curatours, statutes, medycyns, persons, also persones, studies, frere prechours.

Weak plurals: children, ruþeren, oxen.

Umlaut plurals: feet, teep, wymmen.

Adjectives.

In the weak inflection, in H the final e is often retained, in Ch it is usually lost; his owne coste, þe olde testament (oolde S), by gode entent (final e should not be retained), near by is þe good entent (lost where it should be kept), goode Ch S, þe fader riȝt side.

In the strong declension, H is more careful to hold the final e: grete (gret Ch), siche, seche ȝiftes (such Ch), alle his dedes (all C, al Ch), alle gentil men (al Ch), alle (al Ch), alle (al A C, all C), oþer mysdoers.

The adjectives before noun: parisch chirche, bodiliche leche, verreiliche suspicioun, hardere conclusioun, esyere way, raper lif, þe raper lawe, schrifte fader, mo damages, in þe whiche bokes, verey begger, eerþe tilyers, on alle halwen day, forme fader & moder, priuy riches.

The adjective after the noun: desauauntage greuouse & huge, in all þe worlde wide, lawe ciuil, a noble librarie and a grete, lawe canoun, wiþ smale ȝiftes and gileful, mynystre general.

Predicative adj.: þei beþ vnobedient & vnbuxom, he is vnclene.

Comparison of adj.: esyere way, hardere conclusion, þe lasse siker, heȝeste, grettest.

Numerals and ordinals: þre, oon, ferþe, twey, tweyne, þre quarters, þritty þousand, þe þre ferþe deles of profits, secunde, nynþe.

Adverbs and Prepositions.

Adverbs in e: vnneþe, ful selde.

Adverbs in liche: wilfulliche, onlich, scharplich, slyliche, wilyliche.

Adverbs in es : ones a 3ere, went pennes, togidres.

Prepositions : wiþouten ende, wiþoute end, tofore, wiþoute.

Pronouns.

Personal Pronouns.

First Person Sing. Nom. : ich (iche A), y or I frequently found in all five MSS, also ich.

Gen. Sg. : myn, my.

Acc. and Dat. Sg. : me.

Nom. Plu. : we.

Gen. Plu. : oure.

Dat. Acc. Plu. : us.

Second Pers. Sing. Nom. : þou.

„ „ „ Gen. : þi, þyn.

„ „ „ Dat., Acc. : þee.

„ „ „ Plu., Nom. : 3e.

„ „ „ „ Gen. : 3oure, (3owre A).

Third Pers. Sing. Masc. Nom. : he (a in S).

„ „ „ „ Gen. : his.

„ „ „ „ Dat., Acc. : hym.

Third Pers. Sing. Fem. Nom. : heo (sche A C, hue S).

„ „ „ „ Gen. : her (here MSS., hire C).

Third Pers. Sing. Neut. Nom. : hit (it C S).

Third Pers. Plu. all Gend. Nom. : þei (a Ch S), þei (hy Ch, hey D), usual form.

Third Pers. Plu. all Gend. Dat., Acc. : hem (ham Ch).

Demonstrative Pronouns : Sing. þis, Plu. þese, þose.

Relative Pronouns : þat, what, who, whos, to þe whiche.

Interrogative Pronouns : who, what.

Verbs.

Strong Verbs.

Class I : ywrite (p.p.), he droof (past), writen (Iwrite MSS.).

Class II : he fly3 (past), lese (luese Ch S) (inf.).

Class III : ybounde (p.p.), fynde (inf.), bynde (inf.), yholpe (p.p.), ye 3eldiþ.

Class IV : comeþ (3rd sg. pr.), bynome (p.p.).

Class V : yseye (p.p.), we 3eueþ (pres.), 3euen (p.p.), (i)3eue

MSS.), ʒaf (3rd sg. past), seyʒ (3rd sg. past) bade (3rd sg. past), bade (3rd plu.), siʒ (3rd sing. pret.).

Class VI : louʒ (past) (lowʒ A, lowʒe C), stonde (pr. inf.), vnderstonden (p.p.), take (pr. inf.), ytake (pr. part).

Reduplicated Verbs.

yholde (p.p.), hoote (pr. inf.), holdep (3rd pres.), he feng, yblowe (p.p.), yhote (p.p.), we sowep, het (A C Ch, heet S) (past 3rd plu.), ye fang.

Weak Verbs.

Past in d, de : ich herde, turned (turnde Ch, ede S), he rered, answered (3rd sg.), kynges ordeynede, likide (ede MSS) (3rd plu.), correctide (3rd plu.), blamede, erride, he helde, beggide, iseide, yschewide, hit oblegide, þei hadden, þei procuride, procuredede, synnede (3rd plu.).

Past in t, te : lefte (3rd past), sente (3rd plu.), Ich sent.

Past participle in d : chalengide, scorned (yscorned Ch), seide (iseide A C S), schewide (yschewed MSS.), chambred, ordeyned, longide, apassed, prayed, apaide.

Past participle in t : torent (torend A Ch S), yknytt.

Present Tense.

1st sg. : trowe, clepe.

2nd sg. : knowest, þou herest.

3rd sg. in eth and ith : takip, nediþ, douteþ, haþ, þe kniʒt spekip, schewip.

Plural : þei denyeth, we takip, ʒe speakip, ʒe knowip, we suffrip, þei ordeyneþ, ʒe accounteþ, þei spekip, we repe (ripeþ S).

Imperative : deme, war, clepe, denye.

Infinitive : to afferme, destruye, ordeyne, fele.

Present participle : begginge, on kunnyng.

Preteritives and Anomalous.

OE. seulan : yschal (pret. plu.), schulde, ʒe schal, þei schul, þou schalt, we schal, þei schulleþ, þei schul, alle þinges schulle.

OE. willan : ich wole, þei wole, no suche wolde, he wole, þat wole (3rd sg.), ich nolde, þei wolde, we wolde, ʒif þou wolt, ʒe wollep.

OE. bēon : bep (3rd plu.), þou art, ich am, ffor þe wordes bep.

OE. *magan* : *pei mowe*, *pei myzt*.

OE. *dōn* : *ydo* (past part.), *he dide* (dude, dede), *Christ dop*, *pei pat dop*, *pou dost* (past part.), *may be do* (pres. inf.), *doo* (past part.), *hap do*.

OE. *durran* : *freres dar*, *no man dar telle*.

V. REMARKS ON THE MANUSCRIPTS.

In Ch, OE. *f* appears initially as *v*. Examples are : *vurst*, *veyr*, *vale* (fale), *vul* (full), *vewe* (few), *vorme*, *vuyr*, *vysch*, *vede* (feede), *voure*, *vedeþ*, *vor*, *veet*, *vendes* (fiends), *vyf* (fyue), *vader*, *volwe* (follow), *vram*, *veng*, *valleþ*, *vorþ*, *vreodone*, *vecheche* (fetch), *vleysch*, *vort* (forto). The origin of *v* is the Southern (east) dialect. This *v* occurs a few times in the London dialect, and Morsbach finds it once in the London documents.¹ *S* has *v* only once in *vluys* (fleece). *H S Ch* write *values*, while *A C* have *falues*.

C writes *th* for *þ* in a few words : *dooth*, *sooth*, *seith*, *the*, *deth* (also in *A* once), *thynke*, *worth*, *month*, also *puyfthe* (*Ch*), *puelfthe* (*Ch*), *seþthe* (*Ch*).

Peculiar Spellings.

Cwypes (*S*), *zuede* (*S*), *zede* and *zude* in other MSS., *neode* (always in *Ch*), *hue* (for *her* in *S*). In *S* and *Ch* a doubling of *ch* : *þraychcheþ*, *rechcheþ*, *gruchcheþ*, *rychchest*, *luese* (always in *S* and *Ch*), *oerþe* (once in *S*).

Verbal endings—*ith*, *eth*, *ist*, *est*, *ide*, *ede*, in *H*.

Schmidt in his study of *Pecock* (p. 34) found the following rules obeyed :

(1) The terminations *est*, *eth*, *ed* are added to verbal stems ending in *i*, *u*, *m*, *n*.

(2) If the stem ends in *l*, *r*, *z*, *g*, *d*, this orthographical rule is not so strict.

(3) If the stem ends in another consonant, *i* alone is found in the termination.

¹ Royster, J. F., *A Middle English Historical Grammar*, p. 189, and *Treatise on the Ten Commandments*, p. Morsbach, *Schriftsprache*, pp. 103, xix, where he refers to Sweet, *Short* 158.

The scribe of H does not adhere closely to these rules, except in case of No. 1, as the following examination of the *Dialogue* shows:

(1) ouertorned, ordeyneþ, haueþ, wenep, ordeyned, comeþ, serued, occupied, crowned, 3e striueþ, demep, begynnep, semep, liknep, gouerneþ.

(2) chaungide, chalengide, suffriþ, nedip, holdeþ, heled, fulfilled, traueilip, medlip, longeþ, wollep, falleþ, nedeþ, nedip, longide, trauailip, ruleþ, erride, stireþ.

(3) þow knowest, spekiþ, 3e knowip, douteþ, schewide, rehersed, spekiþ, knowip, likeþ, touchip, foleweþ, axeþ, schewip, worschipeþ, sowep, þraschip, schewide, likide, correctide, wakip, makip.

This is a Wycliffe characteristic, and places this MS. H farther North than the others.

CORRIGENDA

p. 2, l. 28.	<i>Read</i> What euer	p. 49, l. 7.	<i>Read</i> freres, is y-
p. 3, l. 21.	<i>Read</i> resceiued		holde ones a 3ere
p. 11, l. 7.	<i>Read</i> synne	p. 54, l. 29.	<i>Read</i> bitake
„ l. 31.	<i>Read</i> ouerthrowen	p. 55, l. 8.	<i>Read</i> mysuse
p. 13, l. 14.	<i>Read</i> Euereche	p. 56, l. 26.	<i>Read</i> biheestes
„ l. 29.	<i>Read</i> Euerye	p. 57, l. 16.	<i>Read</i> oure
p. 15, l. 13.	<i>Read</i> dispreues	p. 62, l. 4, p. 63, ll. 12, 32.	<i>Read</i> Mathei
p. 18, l. 17.	<i>For</i> it read is	p. 70, l. 30.	<i>For</i> spouese read spouse
„ l. 30.	<i>For</i> the (1) read this	p. 72, l. 22.	<i>Read</i> fyue
„ l. 31.	<i>Read</i> euerye	p. 77, l. 27.	<i>anslauzt. Note: AC read manslauzter</i>
p. 19, l. 28.	<i>Read</i> awake	p. 85, l. 30.	<i>Omit</i> so
p. 21, l. 20.	F. 14 b <i>begins with</i> peude	p. 86, l. 20.	<i>Read</i> 3af
p. 22, l. 25.	F. 15 b <i>begins with</i> to	p. 87, l. 7.	<i>For</i> his (2) read þis
p. 24, l. 18.	<i>Read</i> sklaunder	p. 95, l. 5.	<i>Read</i> in
p. 25, l. 30.	<i>Read</i> manyfestlye	p. 96, l. 24.	<i>Read</i> world
p. 31, l. 31.	<i>Read</i> lewde	p. 99, l. 3.	<i>For</i> gafftis, men read craftis men
p. 34, l. 25.	<i>Read</i> beryue	p. 101, l. 19.	<i>Read</i> tabernakyls
p. 46, l. 24.	<i>Read</i> probable	„ l. 26.	<i>Read</i> to þaim of þaim-selfe
p. 47, l. 14.	<i>Read</i> Proverbiorum	p. 108, l. 2.	<i>For</i> þei read & þei
„ l. 20.	<i>Read</i> clereliche		
p. 48, l. 32.	<i>Read</i> hym-silf		
p. 49, l. 1.	<i>Read</i> principle		

PART I

DIALOGUS INTER MILITEM ET CLERICUM

Harl. 1900

Clericus. Ich wondre Syr Noble Knyzt þat in fewe dayes, Fol. 1a
tymes bep chaungide, riȝt is y-buried, lawes bep ouertorned,
& statutes bep y-trode vnder feet.

Miles. Ich am a lewed man & may nouȝt vnderstonde sotil
5 & derk speche; þerfore þou most take more pleyen maner of
spekyng.

Clericus. In my tyme ich haue y-seye þat kynges & princes
hadde hooly chirche in grete worschip, & now y se þe contrary

A DIALOGVE BETWENE A KNYGHT AND A CLERKE CONCERNYNGE THE POWER SPIRITUAL AND TEMPORALL

Printed by Thos. Berthelet.

CLERICUS. The clerke begynneth to speke on this wyse 2a
10 sayenge :

CLERICUS. I wounder syr noble knyghte that in fewe dayes,
tymes be changed, right is buried, lawes be ouerturned, and
statutes be trodde vnder foote.

MILES. Those wordes passe my capacite, I am a lewde man ;
15 and thoughe I wente to schoole in my chyldehode, yet gotte
I not so profounde lernynge that those youre wordes can of me
be vnderstande. And therfore worshypfull clerke, if ye desyre
to haue communication with me, ye must vse a more homely
& playner facion of spekyng.

20 CLE. I haue sene in my time that, Kinges princis and all
other nobles, haue had the church in right great worschip ;
and now I se the contrary, the church is made a pray to you

The clerk
tells the
knight that
the Church
is not wor-
shipped by
kings and
princes as of
old.

In the
King's
Council are
bishops.

Law is
decrees of
Holy
Fathers.
Bishops
have no
power to
make laws
over things
over which
they have
no control.

pat holy chirche is made praye to 3ou alle, miche ¹ is chalengide ²
of vs & no ping is yeve us. 3if we zeueþ nouzt, hit is y-take of
vs wip strenþe, oure good & ³ catel is distruyed, lawes & fredom⁴
beþ nouzt y-holde but dispised & wipseide.

Miles. In þe Kyngis ⁵ counseil beþ bishops.⁶ Y trowe nouzt ⁵
liztliche þat þe Kyng & his counseil wole do 3ow wrong, noþer
distruye 3oure lawe.

Clericus. A3enus al maner lawe we suffrip wrong.

Miles. What clepe ye lawe?

Clericus. Ich clepe lawe þe statutes & ⁷ ordinaunces of ¹⁰
bischops of Rome & decrees of holy fadres.

Miles. What þei ordeyneþ or haueþ y-ordeyned tofore þis of
temporalte, may wel be lawe to 3ou but nouzt to us. No man
hap power to ordeyne statutes of pynges ouer þe whiche he hap
no lordship. As þe kyng of Fraunce may ordeyne no statutes ¹⁵

¹ Money C.

² chaunged S.

³ & our S.

⁴ blotted Ch: fredoms S.

⁵ Kyng hys Ch.

⁶ byschs Ch: bishopes & pre-
lates S.

⁷ and þe C Ch.

2 b all,* and many thynges are challenged of vs, and nothyng is
gyuen vs. If we gyue not oure goodes, they be taken frome vs
by stronge hande, our good and catalle is distroyde, our lawes
and fredome be not holden, but dispysed and withsayde.

MILES. I can not lyghtly beleue, that the Kyng (of whose ²⁰
counsayle they of the clergie be) wyl deale vniustly with you,
nother distroye your lawe.

CLERI. Yea trewely agaynst all lawe, we suffre innumerable
wronges.

MILES. I wolde fayne knowe what ye calle lawe.

CLERI. I calle lawe the statutes and ordinances of bysshops
of Rome, & decrees of holy fathers.

MILES. Whatever they ordeyn, or other have ordeyned in
tyme past of temporaltie, may well be lawe to you, but not to
vs. For no man hath power to ordeyne statutes of thynges, ³⁰
3 a ouer the whiche he hathe no lordeshyp.* As the kyng of
Fraunce may ordeyne no statutes vppon the empyre, nother the
emperour vpon the Kyng of Englande. And lykewyse as

vppon¹ þe Empyre noþer² þe³ Emperour vppon þe Kyngdom³
of Englund. And also princes of þe world may ordeyne no⁴ statutes of þoure spiritualte, for þei⁵ haueþ no power ouer⁶ þoure spiritualte. Also þe mowe ordeyne no statutes of tempor-
5 alte, ouer þe whiche þe haueþ no power noþer auctorite; þerfore
ich louþ wel faste, whanne ich herde telle þat Pope Bonifas
hadde made⁷ a newe statute, þat he hym-silf schuld be aboue
alle secular lordes, princes, kyngis, & emperors, & aboue alle
kyngdoms & make lawe vppon alle þinges, & þat him nedip
10 nouþt but write, for alle þinges schulle⁸ be his whanne he hap
y-write. For to make a statute⁹ is nouþt elles but wilne þat þe
dece be y-holde & ordeyne & boote þat hit be y-holde. ȝif he
wole have my castel, my toun, my feelde, my money, & alle
siche þingis, hym nedip nouþt but wilne hit, & write,¹⁰ & make
15 a decree, & hote þat hit be y-holde, & whanne þat is y-do he

Kings
cannot
make laws
for the
spiritual
power.

The decree
of Pope
Boniface

making
himself
above all
secular
bodies is a
jape to be
scorned.

¹ blotted Ch.

² our S.

³ Kyng C.

⁴ non C.

⁵ þei þei C.

⁶ of S.

⁷ I-made A C Ch S.

⁸ om. Ch.

⁹ a statute hys statute C.

¹⁰ write hit A C.

princis of the worlde maye ordeyne no statutes of youre spiritu-
altie, ouer the whiche they haue no power; no more ye maye
ordeyne no statutes of theyr temporalties, ouer the which ye
haue nother power nor auctoritie. Wherefore it is a thyng in
20 vayne, what euer ye ordeyne of temporal thynges, ouer whiche
ye haue of God receiued no power. And therfore but late I
lough well faste, whan I harde that Pope Boniface the VIII. had
made a newe statute, that he hym selfe shulde be aboue all
seculer lordes, princis, kinges and emperours, and aboue all
25 kyngedomes, & make lawe vppon all thynges; and that hym
nedeth nought but wryte, for all thynges shall be his, whan he^{*} 3 b
hath wryten; and so all thyng shall be yours. For to make a
statute, his statute is nought elles, but to wyll that the decree
be holden and kepte, and ordeyne and whote that it be holden.
30 If he woll haue my castell, my towne, my felde, my money, or
any other suche thynges; hym nedeth nought, but wyll it, and
write it, and make a decree, and whote that it be holden, and
whan that is done, he hath ryght to al such thynges. Now

hap 13t to alle siche pingis. Now goode clerk, þou knowest wel how worpi þis iape is to be scorned.

The Pope
hath power
over your
temporality.

Clericus. Syre knyzt 3e spekiþ scharplich, slyliche, & wilyliche y-now3. Al 3oure talkynge & menyng is þat þe pope hap no power to ordeyne & make statutes of youre temporalte; for 5 3e knowiþ nouzt þat he hap lordschipe, power, & auctorite vppon youre temporalte. Þou3¹ we wolde preue hit by oure lawe & by² decrees y-write, 3e accounteþ hem for nouzt; for 3e weneþ þat³ Petre had no lordschip & power⁴ ouer temporalte but by siche lawe y-write. But 3if þou wolt be a trewe Cristen man & of 10 13t bileue, þou schalt nouzt denye þat Crist⁴ was Lord of alle pinges. To hym hit⁵ was seide in þe⁶ Sauter book: 'Axe of me, & y schal 3eue naciouns to þee to þyn heritage, & al þe⁵ world aboute⁵ to pi possessioun.' Also of hym hit is y-write þat 'he is kyng of kynges & lord of lordes.' Þese bep Goddes⁶ 15

Christ was
Lord of all
things.

¹ þei ACS: þey3 Ch.

⁴ om. C.

² be C.

⁵⁻⁶ blotted Ch.

³⁻⁵ Petir no lordschippe hadde ne power C.

⁶ God hys Ch.

good clerke, thou wottest well, howe worthy this iape is to be scorned.

CLE. Syr Knight ye speke sharpely, slyly, and wysely ynough; all your talkyng and meanyng is (as fer as I perceue) that the pope hath no power to ordeyne and make 10 statutes of your temporalties; for ye knowe not, that he hath lordeshyp, power, and auctoritie vppon your temporalties.

4 a Though we wolde proue it by our^{*} lawe, and by decrees wryten ye accompte them for nought. For ye wene that Peter had no lordeshyp ne power ouer temporalte, but by suche lawe wryten 25 But if thou wilt be a trewe Christen man, and of ryght beleue, thou shalte not deny, but that Christ is lord of al thinges. To hym it was sayde in the Sauter boke: Aske of me, & I shall giue nations to thyn heritage, and all the world about to thy possession. Psal. 2. And also of hym it is wrytten, the fyrst 30 pistill to Timothe the VI. Chapiter, that he is kyng of kynges, and lorde of lordes. I Tim. 2. Apoc. 17 & 19. These be not ours, but Goddes owne wordes; nor we wrote them not, but God sente them, and the holy gooste spake them; and who

owne wordes ; but what Cristen man douteþ wheper¹ God be trewe of his wordes.

Myles. I wipsigge nouȝt þe mageste, lordschip, & myȝt of oure Lord God, for he may² be wipseide in³ no maner wise. But ȝif⁴ hit may be schewide by Holy Writ, þat þe pope is lord of al temporalte, kynges & princes not nedes be suȝeþ to þe pope as wel in * temporalte as in spiritualte.

Christ is Lord of temporal things, but not the Pope.
Fol. 1 b

Clericus. þat may be schewide lȝtlich by auctoritees, þat bep raper rehersed. þe feip⁴ of holy chirche holdeþ þat Petre þe apostle was ordeyned Cristis⁵ vicarie for hym-silf & for⁶ his successors ; & he þat is ful vicarie may do þe same þat his lord may whanne he is made vicarie wip full power wip-oute eny wipdrawing of power. Þanne ȝif ȝe⁷ may nouȝt denye þat Crist, þat is Lord of heuene & of erþe, may ordeyne & make statutes of ȝoure temporalte, ȝe may nouȝt denye wipoute schame þat Cristes⁵ vicarie haþ þe same power.

Peter was made the Vicar of Christ with full power, for himself and all his successors.

¹ wher C : war Ch : where S.

⁵ Crist hys Ch.

² may not S.

⁶ om. S.

³ on C.

⁷ he C.

⁴ fey A C Ch S.

douteth, whether he may ordeyne and make statutes, whome he knoweth to be Lorde of all thynges ?

MILES. I withsay not the maiestie, Lordeshyp, and myght of * our Lorde God ; for he maye not be withsayde on no⁴ maner wyse. But if it may be shewed by holy writte, that the pope is lorde of all temporalties ; than Kynges & princes muste nedes be subiecte to the poope, as well in temporalte as spiritualte.

CLE. That may be shewed lyghtly, by the auctoritees that be a lytell rather rehersed. The fayth of holy chirche holdeth, that Peter the apostell was ordeined Christis ful vicare for hym selfe and for his successors. And he that is fulle vicare, may do the same that his lord may, whan he is made vicar with ful power, withoute any withdrawynge of power. Than if ye can not deny, but that Christe, that is lorde of heuen and of erthe, may ordeyne and make statutes of your temporalties ; how can ye for shame deny Christis vicare to haue the same power ?

Christ has
two times,
one of his
manhood,
the other of
his power
and majesty.

Myles. Ich haue herde¹ of wise doctors pat we schal distingue twey diuerse tymes of Crist: oon of his manhed and anoper of his power & mageste. Pe tyme of his manhed was from² pat he toke flesch & blode anoon to his passioun. Pe tyme of his power & maieste was & is after pe resureccioun, whanne⁵ he seide: 'Al power is ȝeuen³ to me in heuene & in erpe.'

The time of
Christ's
manhood
was when
he was on
earth doing
his wonders
and mira-
cles.

(*Trenisa*. Here takip⁴ hede of pe knyȝtes⁵ menyng & of pe clerkes⁶ menyng also. For pe wordes bep nouȝt fulle chambred. For al pe tyme of Cristes⁷ manhed, pat was tofore his passioun, was tyme of his myȝt, power, & maieste. For bifore⁸ his passioun¹⁰ he turned water into wyn; & heled blynde, & lame, & many maner seke men; & hadde pe see, &⁹ wynde, & weder, & fendes attondaunt to his heestes; &¹⁰ fedde fyue þousand of men wip fyue loues of breed & lefte twelue cupes¹¹ of relef; & rered men from¹² deȝ to lif; & ȝaf his disciplis myȝt & power ouer alle pe¹⁵ deueles & fendes; and schewide of his blis to Petre, James, & Ioon; & ȝede vppon pe see in grete tempest of weder & of pe see. Also whanne he sent his disciplis to fecche hym pe asse to ride on¹³ into Jerusalem, he seide: 'Ȝif eny man seiȝ ouȝt to ȝow, seiȝ pat pe lord haȝ to do þerwip'; & in his ridyng he²⁰ was worschiped as a Kyng, & somme spradde cloþes in his wey & somme bowes; & þanne¹⁴ was pe prophecie fulfilled, seiȝ: 'Douȝtres of Syon, lo! þi kyng comȝ to þee, meke & mylde, sitting vppon¹⁵ an asse.' Also in a tyme he drof biggers & sillers out of pe temple as lord & kyng. Also his lore was in¹⁶ 25 myȝt & power, & he dide al þis & many oper grete dedes bifore¹⁷

The time of
his might
and power
was before
his passion.

¹ y herd A C Ch S.

² fro S.

³ Iȝeue A C Ch S.

⁴ tak S.

⁵ blotted Ch.

⁶ clerk hys Ch.

⁷ Crist hys Ch.

⁸ tofore A C Ch S.

⁹ om. A C Ch S.

¹⁰ & he A C Ch.

¹¹ cupes ful A C.

¹² fro S.

¹³ om. C Ch.

¹⁴ þo A C Ch S.

¹⁵ on C S.

¹⁶ om. C.

¹⁷ tofore A C Ch S.

5 a MILES. I haue hard of holy and * deuout men, that we shuld distingue two dyuers tymes of Christe: one of his humilite, and an other of his power and maiestie. The tyme of his humilytie was from the tyme that he toke flesshe and blode, vnto his³⁰ passion: the tyme of his power and maiestie, was and is after his Resurrection, whan he said: All power is ȝeue to me in heuen and in erthe. Mat. Vlt.

his passioun; þanne before ¹ his passioun was tyme of his power & of his myzt & after his passioun was & is tyme of his manhed. For after his passioun Seynt Steuene seyð hym in his manhed stonde in þe fader riȝt side. But how hit euer be of þe distinc-
 5 cioun þat is made bitwene þe clerk & þe knyzt, of þe tyme of Cristes ² manhed & of þe tyme of his myzt, power, and maieste, take hede how þei spekip eiper to oper. For þe knyzt spekip in þis manere.)

Peter was ordeyned Cristes ² vicarie, for þe state of his man-
 10 hed & nouȝt for þe state of his blisse & maieste. He was nouȝt made Cristes ² vicarie in doying þat Crist doþ now in blisse; but for to folowe hym in his doying þat he dide here on ³ erpe. þanne he ȝaf his vicarie þat power ⁴ þat he vsed ⁴ here in erpe, depliche. & forto preue þis by Holy Writt, y take witnessse of
 15 Crist & of Holy Writt as þou dost. Lo! Crist seide to Pylat: 'My kyngdom is nouȝt of þis world.' Also he seiþ þat 'he come nouȝt to be serued,⁶ but to serue oper men.' Luce 12^o. And oon seide to Crist: 'Maister say to my broþer þat he departe heritage wip me.' Crist answerde & seide: 'Man who

Peter was made Christ's vicar, to follow him in his doing here on earth.

Holy Writ shows that Christ was not judge over temporal things.

¹ tofore A C Ch S.

⁴⁻⁴ om. A C.

² Crist hys Ch.

⁵ om. S.

³ in S.

⁶ I serued A C Ch S.

20 Peter was ordeyned Christis vicare for the state of his humilite, and not for the state of his blysse and maiestie; but to folowe hym in doynge those thynges, which Christe in humilite dydde here in erth; for those thynges are necessary for vs. Ergo Christ commytted thylke power to his vicare, whiche he
 25 as a man mortall exercysed, and not that power, whiche after his glorification he resceyued. And for to proue this by Holy Wrytte, I take wytnes of Christe and Holy Writte,* as thou 5 b doste. Lo Christe sayde to Pilate: My Kyngedome is not of this worlde, Jo. 18. Also he saith, he came not to be serued,
 30 but to serue other men, Matt. 20. This wytnes is so manifeste, that it maye confounde a man, resiste he neuer so moche, and all to frusshe his necke, be it neuer so styffe. And it is wrytten Luc. 12. howe one said to Christ: Mayster say to my brother, that he departe herytage with me. To whom Christ answered
 35 and sayde: Manne, who hathe ordeyned me iudge or departer

hap made me juge to departe bitwene you? ' Luce 12°. Lo!
 Fol. 2 a þou herest openlich þat Crist was nouzt juge & * deler ouer
 temporalte.¹ But whanne þe peple þat he had fedde² wolde
 have made³ hym kyng, he flyȝ from⁴ hem. Also in Petres⁵
 commissioun he ȝaf hym nouzt þe keyes of þe kyngdom of erþe,⁵
 but þe keyes of þe kyngdom of heuene. Also þe bischops of
 Hebrewes were suget to kyngis, & kynges sett down bischops.⁶
 But forto knowe þat Petre was Cristes⁷ vicarie in goostliche
 kyngdom of soules & nouzt in temporal lordschipe of castels &
 of londes, take hede what Poul þe apostle seiþ; 'Euereche¹⁰
 bischop,' he seiþ 'is y-take of men & y-ordeyned for men in
 pingis þat longeþ to God, nouzt to gouerne erþliche kyngdom,
 but to offre giftes & sacrifice⁸ for synne.' Also to⁹ Thi.:¹⁰ 'No

He gave
 Peter the
 keys of the
 kingdom of
 heaven not
 of earth.

This is
 proved by
 Paul,
 writing
 to the
 Hebrews,
 and also to
 Timothy.

¹ Inserted in S 'y ordeyned for
 þe staat of þis deplich lif þat hauynge
 no Kyngdom of þis world noþer
 gouernaunce of temporalte'.

² y fed A C Ch S.

³ y made A C Ch S.

⁴ fro S.

⁵ patre hys Ch S.

⁶ but God forbode þat it were so
 now A C S: but God for buede hyt
 þat were so now Ch.

⁷ Crist hys Ch.

⁸ Sacrafices A C S.

⁹ om. S.

¹⁰ þise A C.

betwene you? Lo thou hereste openly, that Christ was not
 iudge nor dealer ouer temporaltees. Ergo in that state of dis- 15
 pensation taken on hym, he neyther had nor desyred temporalle
 kyngedome. But whan the people, that he hadde fedde, wolde
 haue made hym kyng, he fledde from them Jon. 6. Also in
 6 a Peters commission * he yafe hym not the keys of the kyngdome
 of erth, but the keyes of the kyngedome of heuen. Also it is 20
 euydent and playne, that the bysshoppes of the Hebrewes were
 subiectes to kynges, and the kynges deposed the bysshoppes:
 but god forbydde, that they shulde so now. And for to knowe,
 that Peter was Christis vycar in godly kyngedome of soules, and
 not in temporalle lordeshyppe of castelles and of landes; take 25
 hede what Paule the appostelle saythe wrytynge to the
 Hebrewes. Heb. 5. Euerye bysshoppe (saythe he) is take of
 men, and ordeyned for men in thynges that belonge to god, not
 to gouerne erthely thynges, but to offre gyftes and sacrifices for
 synne. (That the bysshoppe is made ruler in those thinges 30
 that long to god, thou maist perceyue by the wordes of saynte
 6 b Paule wrytynge to Timothe, the. 2 * pistel, & 2. chap. where he

man,' he seip, 'pat traueilip in kny3thode to godward medlip hym to¹ secular nedes² & bysynesse.'³ Panne it is soþe pat Crist vsed nouzt worldliche kyngdom, 'noþer 3af Peter siche a maner kyngdom.'⁴ Also in Actibus Apostolorum, Petre seip :
 5 'Hit is nouzt ri3tful pat we leue þe lawe of God & serue mete-
 bordes, & gouerne temporalte.'⁵ & pou3 somme temporalte⁵ may
 be gouerned by bischops, noþeles bischops schulde nouzt be
 occupied in gouernance of myzt & lordships of þis world. Per-
 fore sire Clerk þe auctoritees pat þou hast leyde⁶ for pi party :
 10 'Axe of me & y schel 3eue þee peple & naciouns, & al þe world
 aboute to þyn heritage'; þis is nouzt vnderstonden for þe first
 state but for þe secunde; for in þe first state Crist vsed no
 siche power, but put hit away⁷ from⁸ hym & vsed onlich pat
 longep to þe gouernaunce of oure sauacioun; & in pat maner of

Peter also
says that
we should
not leave
the law of
God to serve
temporal
things.

¹ in A C Ch S.

⁵⁻⁵ om. C.

² charges A : churches C Ch :
cherres S.

⁶ aleide A C Ch S.

³ besynnesses.

⁷ alwey C.

⁴⁻⁴ om. A C.

⁸ fro A C S.

15 saith), No man that trauayleth in knyghthode to godward,
 medleth him in secular busynesses. Than hit is sothe, that
 Christe neyther exercised worldely kyngedome, nor commytte
 hit to Peter. And in the actes of the apostels the 6. Chaptre
 Peter saythe : It is not ryghtfull that we leue the worde of god,
 20 & serue meate, bourdes, (that is to saye, to dispose temporall
 thynges). And all though some temporall thinges may be dis-
 posed bi bishops; yet, neuertheles it is playne and euident, that
 bysshoppes schulde not be occupied in gouernaunce of myghte
 and lordshyppes of this world. Therefore syr clerke, the auctori-
 25 ties that thou haste layde for thy partie, Aske of me, and I shall
 gyue to the, nations to thyn heritage, and all the world about,
 to thy possession. And that he is kynge of kynges, etc. Apoc.
 17 & 19. This* is not vnderstond for the fyrst estate but for 7 a
 the secunde. In the whiche fyrste estate it is playne, that
 30 Christe exercised no temporall power, but put it clene away
 from him, & vsed only that, that longed to the gouernance of
 our Saluation. And in that maner of doynge he made Peter his
 vicar, whom he nother made knyght, nor crowned kynge; but

Psalm 2.

1 Tim. 2.

Christ made
Peter a
priest and
bishop and
not a king.

doynge, he made Petre¹ his vicarie & made hym no knyzt noþer crowned hym² kyng, but made hym³ prest & bischop.³ And 3if 3e wollep 3ett stryue þat Cristes⁴ vicarie schuld haue þat power in temporalte, þat Crist hadde after his resureccioun in heuene & vsed nouzt here in erpe, 3oure strif schal not turne 5 3ow to worschip atte laste. Euerech Cristen man knowip wel, þat 3if God bade⁵ hym 3eue to anoþer man his money, his hous, his felde, hys vynzerde wipout eny⁶ caucioun, wipoute eny ple, wipout eny axing why & for what cause, anon he most be obedient. Þanne 3if 3e strineþ þat þe pope hap þe same power, 10 þanne 3e mot stryue also þat þe pope may take of 3ow & of vs, al þat 3e & we haueþ & 3eue al to his cosyns oþer whom him likeþ, & telle no cause why. Also þat he may take of princes & of kynges principates and kyngdoms at his owne wille, & 3eue where hym likeþ. But take hede how wrongfullich þat were 15 y-do & demep how hit wolde myslike 3ow, & he dide so to 3ow.

¹ 'Christ' written in line, 'Petre'
above line S.

² om. C.

³⁻³ bisshop & preost C.

⁴ Crist hys Ch.

⁵ heet A C Ch S.

⁶ om. S.

ordeyned hym to be a preest and bysshophe. And if ye woll yet stryue, that Christis vycare shulde haue that power in temporalte, that Christe had after his resurrection in heuen, and used not here in erthe, your stryfe shall not turne you to 20 worship at length. For it is euident to euery faythfull man, that if God shuld commande hym to gyue his money, his felde, or his vineyarde to any other man, without any prouision or reasonable request, and without any expresse studieng, he ought 7 b forth with to obey.* Wherfore if ye wyll contende, that the pope 25 hath the same power, than of necessity ye must graunt also, that the pope maye take from you, and from vs, all the goodes that ye and we haue, and gyue them all to whiche of his neucwes or cousyns, that he wyll, and tell no cause why; and also he may take away from princis and kynges, principalitees and kyng- 30 domes at his own wylle, and gyue them there as hym lykethe. But take hede how wrongfully that were done, and demeth your owne selfe, howe that wolde myslike you, if he dydde so to you. If that very reason constryne you to forsake your folysshe

Panne it is soþe þat he feng nouȝt so grete power as Crist in
temporalte, but onlich þat power þat Crist vsed & tauȝt in his
deplich lyuyng.

Therefore
he has not
temporal
power, but
only that
power that
Christ used
and taught
in his death-
ly living.

Clericus. Denyest þou,¹ þat holy chirche schal knowe² cor-
5 rect men of synnes?

Miles.³ Wrongfulliche penaunce & schrifte.

Clericus. Panne ȝif a wrongful dede is synne, þe pope þat
schal knowe & deme⁴ of synne, schal knowe & deme⁴ of riȝtful &
vnriȝtful. ⁴But in temporalte & in dedes þat touchip temporalte
10 is riȝtful & vnriȝtful.⁴ Panne þe pope schal⁵ deme & rule⁵ þe
temporalte.

The Pope
must rule
the tem-
poral.

Miles. Þis argument is riȝt nouȝt. For here ich argue in þe
same maner, in honging of þeeues & of oper mysdoers þat bep
dampned⁶ to þe dep, is riȝtful & vnriȝtful. Þerfore bycause of
15 synne þat siche men dop, þe pope schal deme & be domesman?

¹ om. A C Ch S.

⁴⁻⁴ om. C.

² knowe and A C Ch S.

⁵⁻⁵ rule & deme C.

³ God hit forbude for who þat
denyþ þat denyþ. A C Ch S.

⁶ I dampned A C Ch S.

argumente the poope also shall be constrayned to gyue backe.
For it is sothe, that he, Christis vicare, resceyued not so great
power in temporaltees, but he resceyued onely that power, that
Christe in his humilite dayly vsed^{*} and taughte.

8 a

20 CLERICUS. Wyll ye denye syre knyghte, that holy chirche
shall not knowe and correcte menne for synnes?

MILES. Godde forbydde, For he that wolde denye that, shall
denye penaunce and confession.

CLERI. If ought be done vnryghtfully, it is synne; and he that
25 hath to do in knowledge of synne, must knowe and also deeme
of ryghtefulle and vnryghtfull. Therefore syns there is ryghtful
and vnryghtfull in businesses of temporall matters, of verye
consequens the pope ought to rule and deme in temporall
causes.

30 MILES. This is a forked argument, whose vanite and sklen-
dernes must be by a like argument, overthrowen. In hangyng
vp of theues and other misdoers, that be dampned to the dethe,
is ryghtfull and vnryghtfull, and also synne. Therefore bycause
of synne, that suche menne^{*} doo, shall the Poope deme and be 8 b

In cause of felony & of mannes¹ dep, þe argument is nouȝt, &
 Fol. 2 b þerfore hit is y-blowe away wiþ a liȝt resoun. Now sirc clerk, *
 3e most schewe how 3e schal knowe & deme riȝtful & vnriȝtful.
 For hit is no doute þat riȝtful & vnriȝtful in temporalte schal
 be demed by lawes, þat men haueþ made of temporalte. But 5
 me mot take hede al aboute what longeþ to þe cause þat schal
 be demed. Þanne hit is soþe þat he þat makip þe lawe, haþ
 power to knowe & to deme riȝtful & vnriȝtful, & to expowne &
 declare, & telle þe menyng of lawe, & to kepe þe lawe, & to
 gouerne² resonabliche³ þee by lawe.³

Who shall
 deem the
 right and
 the wrong.

He who
 makes the
 law for
 temporal
 things must
 judge right
 and wrong,
 and govern
 according
 to law.

Þanne ȝif 3e wolleþ be as grete maistres as he, in know-
 leche & demyng of⁴ temporalte, & strīue wiþ hym in know-
 leche & demyng of⁴ riȝtful & vnriȝtful, in what longeþ to
 temporalte, þanne 3e ereþ wiþ an oxe and an asse aȝenus
 ȝoure⁵ Holy Writ. & whanne þe prince seiþ, þis is riȝtful, 15

¹ man hys Ch.

⁴⁻⁴ om. S.

² gouerne þe A.

⁵ ȝoure owne S.

³⁻³ om. A.

domes man in cause of felonye and of mans dethe? This is a
 lyght argument, and therefore hit is blowen away with a lyght
 reason. Nowe syr clerke ye muste shewe, howe ye shulde
 knowe and deme ryghtfulle and vnrightfulle. For there is no
 doubte, but that ryghtful & vnrightfull in temporalties shal be 20
 demed by lawes, that men haue made of temporalte. But ye
 mote take hede all aboute, what longeth to the cause, that shal
 be demed. Than it is soþ, that he that maketh the lawe, hath
 power to knowe and to deme rightfull and vnrightful, and to
 expowne and declare, and to tell the menyng of the lawe, and 25
 to kepe the lawe, and to gouerne reasonably by the lawe.
 Nowe if ye wyll be as great maysters as he, in knowlege and
 demyng of temporalte, and stryue with hym in knowlege and
 9 a demyng* of rightfull and vnrightful, in what that longeth to
 temporalte, thanne care ye with an oxe and asse agaynst your 30
 holy wrytte. And whan the prince saythe, this is ryghtfull,
 the bysshop sayth, this is vnryghtfull: than is fulfylled the
 prophecy of Abacuc: Abac. 1. Ryghtfuldome is made, and
 withsayenge is stronger, throughe the whiche the lawe is
 torne and rent, & the rightful dome cometh not to ende. For 35

pe bischop seip, pis is vnrihtful. Panne is fulfild pe propheticie of Abacuc. In pe bygynnyng was made rihtful doom, & wiþsigginge of pe prophete is stronge; pe lawe is y-tore & to-rent; pe dome com nouȝt to pe ende, for þat schal nouȝt be to-rent rihtwisnesse in erpe. Now y schal schewe ȝou by pe apostle whare ȝoure knowleche & doom schal bygynne. Pe princes by her lawes schal knowe & deme rihtful & vnrihtful, & pe ende þerof, euereche man schal take hede as he is y-holde & be obedient to hym, as hit is yhote Deuteronomy 17^o: 'Si quis autem tumens, ȝif eny man is prout & wole nouȝt be obedient to pe princes ¹ hestes, & pe princes office hap no power to deme & to chastee sicke mysdoers,' panne bigynnep ȝoure knowleche & ȝoure dome. For ȝoure monicioun schal refreyne & chastee. ² For pe apostle Poule ad Titum ³ seip: 'Evereche soule schal be suȝet to pe ouer power.' Whanne he seip euereche soule, hit

If the Pope striveth for temporal power then is fulfilled the prophesy of Habakkuk 1.4.

If a man is disobedient of the King's law, then the bishop may admonish him.

¹ prince hys Ch.

³ ad titum 3^o S.

² chastise C.

truely that is not to do ryghtfull dome and iustyce in erthe. Nowe I shall shewe you, after the apostelle Paule where your knowlege and dome shall begynne. The prince by his lawes shal deme right and wronge, and euery man shall be redy at his commandement, as he is bounde: and shall be obediente to hym. Nowe if any man waxe stubborne, and wyll not be obedient to the pryncis hestes, nor the prynce (Whose office is deme and iudge)* is not able to resyste and compell hym: 9 b than begynneth your knowlege and your dome. For youre monitions shal refraine and chastice hym, accordynge as Saynte Tit. 3. Paule saythe to Titus the 3. Chap. Admonyshe and warne them, that they be subiectes to princis and high powers. And also wrytynge vnto the Romayns the thyrtene chapter he sayth on this wyse: Everye soule shall be subiecte to the hyghe powers. Rom. 13. 30 Whan he sayth euery soule, it semeth than, none is excepted. Also where as misdoynge and synfull dedes are manifest and open, as robbery, thefte, and suche lyke, norther is none that can or wyl redresse these offences: I deny not, but that ye shall and may vse your power in suche cases, but not of ryght- 35 full or vnrihtfull: for it falleth not for you to knowe and

When the
sin is openly
known as
in robbery,
and there
is none to
amend the
trespass,
then the
priest may
use his
power.

semeþ þat noon is outtake. Also þere þe mysdoynge & synne is openliche y-knowe as hit is in takinge of robberie & of peeþþe, and whanne þere is noon þat wole and may amende þe trespas, y denye nouzt þat 3e schal & may in siche caases vse youre power; but nouzt aboute riȝtful and vnriȝtful, for hit falleþ nouzt to ¹ 5 3ou to knowe & deme þerof, noþer to putt 3oure hond þerto. But whanne hit is openliche y-knowe by sentence & dome of lawe oþer by open euydence & knowleche of þe trespas þat nedep noon oþer witnesse & preues, ² þanne hit may longe to 3ou ² in mater & forme as hit is seide toforhond. & ȝif 3e wollep needes knowe & deme in siche caases, ³ bycause þat vnriȝt & synne bep y-bounde to-gidres, þanne hit needip nouzt but close þe ȝates of princes & speke nouzt of her lawes, but speke of þe lawes of bischops aloone. Hit longeþ to 3ou to knowe & to deme in cause of matrimonye ¹⁵ & of wedlok, y praye 3ou wole 3e þerfore sey þat hit soleweþ þat 3e schal knowe & deme of al þat longeþ þerto, for þe kny-

¹ om. S.

³ causes C.

² þan may it longe to 3ou C.

10 a deme thereof; nor to entermeddle therewith. But when * it is openly knowen by sentence and dome of the lawe, or els by playne euidence and knowlege of the trespas, that nedeth none ²⁰ other wytnesse nor proues: than may it longe to you in maner and forme, as hit is sayde before.

And if ye woll nedes knowe and deme in suche causes, bycause that wronge and synne be lynked to ȝether; than there nedeth nought els, but shutte vp the gates of princis, and ²⁵ speke naughte of theyr lawes and statutes, but speke of the lawes of bysshops all onely. It dothe belonge to you to knowe and to deme cause of matrimony and of wedlocke, I pray you, wyll ye therfore say, that it foloweth, that ye shall knowe and deme as al that longeth therto for the knyting of the ³⁰ dede? Lo! I go into your countreye for to aske heritage in my
10 b wyfes name; for she is heyre therof, ye see, that by * reason of matrimonye it longeth to me to requyre this heritage; shall I therfore plede before you for my wyfes heritage, and telle my tale in this manner: I Roberte at Stile aske for my wyfe a ³⁵

tinge of þe dede? Lo! ich go into ȝoure cuntraye forto axe heritage in my¹ wyues² name, for heo is eyr þerof; hit longeþ³ to me to axe þat heritage, for hit is y-knytt to þe matrimonye & hit longeþ³ to ȝou to deme & to knowe of þe matrimonye.

An illustration of the function of the priest, as seen in matrimony and wedlock.

5 Schal ich perfore plede tofore ȝow for my wyues heritage & telle þe tale in þis manere: 'Robart atte Style axeþ for his wif a ducherye in 'name of⁵ dower, & so forþe?' Wheþer⁶ schal ich plede tofore þe kyng oper tofore þe bischop? Ich saye playnlich to ȝou alle clerkes, forbedying ȝou þat ȝe entremete 10 ȝou nouȝt of doome & knowleche of dower, aȝenus God & riȝt-wisnesse. For þe byheeste of dower is verrey couenaunt of temporalte, & schal^{*} be preued oper dispreued, by preues oper Fol. 3 a dispreues, of þe kynges⁷ lawe. Panne hit is a iape of sich a manere onyng of þinges, to feyne a knyttyng to-gidres in dome 15 & in knowleche of causes, þouȝ oon auctorite be ynouȝ to ȝou for al þis doying. For Crist in þe gospel seip: 'Man who hap made me domesman oper deler bitwene ȝou?' Luce 12°. Here

He should know of the matrimony, but has no power to judge in regard to the wife's dowry.

The dowry comes under the King's law.

¹ myn C.

⁵ of a A C.

² wyf hys Ch.

⁶ where C Ch.

³⁻⁵ om. C.

⁷ kyng hys Ch.

⁴ in þe A C.

duchery, in the name of dowerye, and so forthe? Whiche ought to be pleded before the kyng, and not before the bysshoppe.

20 Yea I saye vnto you all clerkes forbyddynge you, that you entermeddell you not of dome and knowlege of dower, agaynst God and ryghtousness. For the beheste of dower, is very couenant of temporalte, and shall be proued or dispreued, by proues or dispreues, of the kynges lawes. And for so moch as 25 ye vsurp and take vpon you that, that belongeth vnto other, it is ryghte mete, that ye suffre as ye do.

Now thus it appereth, that it is but a iape and a vanite of suche maner of onyng of thynges to feyne a^{*} knyttyng to 11 a gethers in dome and in knowlege of causes. For to the con- 30 foundynge of all those reasons (that ye make) the only wordes are suffycient, that I afore recyted to you oute of the gospelle of Luke, where our Lorde Jesu sayth: O man who hath ordeyned Luc. 12. me domesman or dealer betwene you? Here Christ sheweth vs

Christ did
not deem
and deal
heritage.

Crist schewip vs openlich, þat hit longide nouȝt to hym to deme & dele heritage by þe power þat he vsed in þat þat he was man y-schape forto dye.

The spiritual
must rule
the tem-
poral.

Clericus. Þe temporalte schal serue þe spiritualte, & ȝif hit is so, temporalte schal be suget to¹ spiritualte, & spiritual⁵ power schal gouerne & rule þe temporal power.

The tem-
poral shall
serve the
spiritual in
the case of
those who
administer
sacraments.
This is
given in
Moses' law,
and by Paul
to the
Corinthians.

Miles.² Soplich þe temporalte schal serue þe spiritualte, so þat þei þat³ haueþ temporalte schal fynde what is necessarie to hem þat worschipeþ & serueth God. For alle naciouns dop so as hit were by wey of kynde,⁴ & kynde ȝaf dome by lawe⁵ of¹⁰ kynde,⁴ þat to hem þat worschipeþ God & mynistres sacramentes & soche as longeþ to God, me schal mynistrer necessaries & dewe⁶ worschipe & what is nedeful to liflode, so hit is yknowe, 47^o of Pharao; & þe lawe þat God ȝaf, Moyses ordeyned large-lich for prestes. Büt þat lawe ordeyned hem no temporal¹⁵

¹ to þe S.

⁴⁻⁴ om. C.

² Miles, written in right margin,

⁵ wey written and crossed out in text, and lawe in right margin, H.

H.

³ om. C.

⁶ þow A C: þuwe Ch: þew S.

openly, that it longed not to hym to deme and deale herytage, by the power that he vsed in that that he was man shapen for to dye.

CLERI. Can ye denay but that the temporalties ought to obey and be seruiseable to the spiritualtie? If ye can not, ye 20 must nedes graunt that the temporaltie must nedes be subiect to the spiritualtie; & that the spirituall power oughte to rule the temporal.

MILES. Sothely the temporaltie shall serue the spiritualtie 25 in this case; they are bounde to fynde them, that worshyp and 11 b serue* god, all that is necessary for them. For so do all nations (as it were by way of kynde) honour and ministrer vnto the liuelod & other necessities, that worshyp God, & ministrer sacramentes and such as longeth to God. For in the lawes that our Lord gaue to Moyses, the Phariseis and pristres were 30 largely prouided fore: but yet that law did not ordein for them ani temporall kyngedome or lordeschyp. And the apostell to Cor. 9. the Corinthees saythe: If we have sown thynges spirituall amonge you, it is no great thing if we reþe carnall? But if

kyngdom & lordschipe. And þe apostle to Corinth: '3if we sowep to 3ou spirituale, hit is nouȝt þe moste 3if we repe 3oure temporalte.' But 3if þou wolt wite what maner lordschip Crist ordeyned¹ his seruantes þat sowip spirituale, take in ordre þe
5 wordes of Crist & of þe apostle Paul. Crist sende his disciplis to preche & seyde: 'þe werk-man is worpi his mede,' & Poul seip: 'Who² trauailip in knyȝthode vpon his owne coste, as who seip no man.' And in Moyses³ lawe hit is writen: 'þou schalt not bynde þe oxes⁴ moupe þat praschip.' Lo! how
10 Crist liknep 3ow to werk-men, to hyred⁵ men, to oxen & nouȝt to kynges. Hit is knowen⁶ þat werkmen & her men bep nouȝt lordes of pinges. Þanne hit semep þat temporalte is graunted 3ow to helpe of 3oure lyuynge & nouȝt to lordschipe. And of þe spirituale⁷ hit is writen⁸ in Moyses lawe⁹: 'þere 3e bep
15 likned to an ox þat praschip, to þe whiche hit is y-nowȝ to take his mete þouȝ he fille al þe berne wip his trauail.' And

Christ told his disciples: the work-man is worthy his mede.

¹ ordeyned for A C Ch S.

⁶ I knowe A C Ch S.

² who so S.

⁷ spiritual A C.

³ Moyses hys Ch.

⁸ I write A C Ch S.

⁴ oxen hys Ch.

⁹ lawes A C Ch.

⁵ hyre A C Ch S.

thou wylte witte, what maner lordshyp Christe ordeyned for his seruantes, that sowe spirituale sedes: take of the wordes of Christe and of the apostelle Paule, as they folowe in order.
20 For Christe to his disciples, sente forthe to preache, sayde: The worke man is worthy his meate: and, The worke man is worthy his * mede. And Paule of hym selfe and other apostles sayth, 12 a
I. Cor. 9. Who trauaylleth in knyghtehode vpon his owne coste? As who sayth: no man. I. Cor. 9. And in Moyses lawe
25 it is writen. Deut. 25. Thou shalte not bynde the oxen mouthe that thressheth. Lo to whom doth Christe & his apostell Paule lyken you? To workmen, to hyredmen & oxen, and not to kinges. I pray you, be worke men and hyred men, lordes of thynges? Than it semeth, that temporaltyes are graunted you
30 to helpe of your lyuynge, and for charge of spirituall administration, and not to lordshyp. And of the spirituall it is wrytten in Moyses lawe, there Deut. 15. Ye be lykened to an oxen, that thressheth, to the whiche it is ynough to take his meate,

Mat. 10.
Luc. 10.
Tim. 5.

The bishop
is taken of
men, and
ordained for
men, in that
which be-
longe to
God, not in
that which
belonge to
the world.

In the
former days
kings ruled
the prestes.

for þe seyn þat spiritual power ruleþ & gouerneþ þe temporalte
hit is schewide toforhond by þe apostle, þat euerech bischop is
y-take of men & ordeyned for men in þat þat longeþ to God, &
in þat spiritual power schal rule & gouerne us & nouȝt in þat
þat longeþ to þe world. For hit longeþ nouȝt to holy chirche to 5
deme in þat, þat is outward. And ȝif þe ȝit stryueþ þat þe pope
is aboue alle oþer also in temporalte, ȝe falleþ into wel grete
scornes. ȝif þe pope whanne he is made pope ¹ is made lorde
of alle ¹, þanne by þe same skyle a bischop whanne he is made
bischop, is ² made lord of al þe cuntray of his bischopriche; & ¹⁰
þe kynges ³ preste is þe kynges ³ lord, & lord of þe kyngdom ⁴ &
of al þat is in þe kyngdom, ⁴ & specialiche þe primat. Also we
haueþ lerned þat kynges ordeynede who schulde be prestes; and
prestes ordeynede nouȝt who schulde be kynges, & prestes were

¹⁻¹ he is lorde; lorde of alle þe contrey C.

² he is C.

³ kyng hys Ch.

⁴⁻⁴ om. C.

Heb. 5.

though he fyll al the berne with his trauayle. And for that 15
ye saye, that spirituall power ruleth and gouerneth the tem-
poraltie, * that it answered you afore by the apostell Paule,
12 b where he sayth: Euery bysshop is taken of men, and ordeyned
for men in that that longeth to God, and in that the spirituall
power shall rule and gouerne vs and not in that that longeth 20
to the worlde; for it longeth nat to holye church to deeme in
that that is outwarde.

And if ye yet striue, that the pope is aboue all other also in
temporalte, ye falle into well great skornes. For if the poepe
(whan he is made pope) shuld be made lorde ouer all: than by 25
the same skyle a bysshoppe (whan he is made bysshop) is made
lorde of all the countrey of his bysshoprike, and my priest shall
be lorde ouer my castelle, and be my lorde. For as the power
of the pope is in all, so is the power of these in that party,
where they rule. Wherefore leaue the folysshenes the which 30
13 a is * laughed and mocked atte of euery man, and that is, with so
many reasones and auctorities of Scripture confounded. Also we
haue lerned in the Olde Testament, that kynges ordeyned who
shulde be priestes; but priests dyd not ordeyne, who shuld be

nouȝt worschipped ¹ of princes & of kyngis, but princes & kynges were worschipped ¹ of prestes & of prophetes; & ² kynges sente for prestes & prophetes, & bade ³ hem do what ⁴ kynges likide.

Also in þe Olde Testament kynges correctide prestis and
 5 vndertoke hem and blamede hem, whanne þei erride in gouern-
 nauce of temporalte, as hit * is written, 3^o Regum p^o 4^o & Fol. 3 b
 12^o ca.

Evidence of
 this in the
 Old Testa-
 ment.

Clericus. Me wondreþ þat ȝe seyn þat þe kyng vndertoke þe
 bischop in gouernauce of ⁵ temporalte.

10 Miles. ȝe stireþ me & wakip me as hit were of my sleep, &
 makip me speke oper wise þan y pouȝt.

Clericus. Lete þe hound wake & berke.

Miles. For ȝe kunne nouȝt vse manhed suffraunce & pacience
 of princes, y trowe ⁶ ȝe schal fele berkyng & bityng.

15 Clericus. What haueþ princes and kynges to do wiþ gouern-
 nauce of oure temporalte? Þei haueþ her owne compray ⁷ þat þei
 lete vs haue fre.

¹⁻¹ om. C.

⁵ of A C Ch S: oper H.

² & of C.

⁶ trowe þat S.

³ heet A C Ch S.

⁷ compray contrarie C.

⁴ what þe C.

kynges. And priestes were not worshypped of kynges; but
 kynges and pryncis were worshypped of priestes and prophetes,
 20 and myghte calle them and commaunde them to do what pleased
 the kynges. And in the same Olde Testamente the kynges dyd
 correcte the priestes, and vndertoke, and blamed them, whan
 they erred in gouernauce of temporalte.

CLE. I maruayle that ye say, that kynges vndertoke and
 25 blamed the byshop in gouernance of temporalte.

MILES. Ye awake the slepyng dogge, and dryue me to
 speake otherwyse than I thoughte before to do.

CLERI. Lette the * hounde wake and barke.

13 b

MILES. For as moche as ye can not be contente, and pacyently
 30 (to your profit) suffre the princis, I fere me, that after due and
 iuste barkyng, ye shall fele bytyng.

CLERI. What haue princis and kynges to do with gouernance
 of our temporalte, lette them take theyrs, and suffre vs
 in peace with oures?

Priests
should pray
for those
who die,
and not
waste their
time in sins
and vanity.

Miles. Kynges & princes haueþ myche ado wip 3oure temporalte. Haue ich nouzt to do to þenke on þe sauacioun of myn owne soule wip al þat y may? Falleþ hit nouzt for 3ow to pray for fadris þat beþ apassed out of þis lif? 3af nouzt oure forfadres¹ 3ou temporalte in grete wone & plente for 3e⁵ schulde pray for hem, & spende in Goddes² worschip? But 3e doþ nopinge herof, but 3e spendiþ 3oure temporalte in youre synnes & 3oure vanite, þe whiche temporalte 3e schuld spende in werkes of charite, in almes dedes in³ pore men & nedy. Were hit nouzt nedeful þat þei þat beþ dede were y-holpe, & þei þat¹⁰ beþ⁴ alyue⁵ y-saued by dedes of mercy, for þe whiche oure forfadres haueþ y-3eue 3ow grete lordschipes & huge? Spende 3e nouzt siche lordschipes amysse & so wrongfullich, þat 3e greueþ boþe quycke & dede & doþ hem wrong azenus þe wille of hem þat 3af 3ow so grete lordschipes & rychesses? While⁶ 3e recchiþ¹⁵

¹ forme fadres A C.

² God hys Ch.

³ to A C.

⁴ beþ dede were I holpe & pey þat beþ C.

⁵ alyue be C. : alyue were S.

⁶ whiche C.

MILES. Syr the princis muste in any wyse haue to do therewith. I praye you, oughte nat we aboue all thynges, to mynde the helthe of our soules? oughte not we to see, that the wylls of our fore fathers be fulfilled? Falleth it not to you to pray for our fore fathers, that be passed out of this lyfe? And dydde²⁰ not our fore fathers gyue you oure temporalties ryghte plentyfullye to the entente, that ye schulde praye for them, and spende^{14 a} it all to gether to the pleasure and honour of god? * and ye do nothyng so: but ye spende away your temporaltie in synfulle dedes and vanite, the which temporaltie ye schulde dispende in²⁵ workes of charite, and in almes dedes to poore men and nedy. Were it not nedefulle, that they that be deed schulde be holpe, and they that be alyue saued by dedes of mercy? For the whiche oure fore fathers haue gyuen you great and huge dominions. And whan ye apply them to your owne vse and³⁰ superfluously consume them, and contrary to their intente, that were the gyuers, and also of the resceyuers, lasshe them out to an yll vse: do ye not damnably hurte and hynderaunce bothe to them that be alyue, and also to them that be deed? ye recke

nouȝt of honeste of ȝoure owne law, & of dedes of mercy & of charite, masses ȝe siggeȝ nouȝt noȝer syngiȝ in chirche; but in folȝ, in bobans, and in likyng of þis world, ȝe spendiȝ al þat was y-ȝeue ȝou wiȝ holy entent. Schal nouȝt his wages be
 5 bynome hym þat wole nouȝt do þe dedes of knyȝthode? He þat holdiȝ of anoȝer & doȝ nouȝt his due¹ office & seruise, he schal lese his fee. And forto make an ende in þis questioun, y schal schewe ȝow þat ȝe auȝt be sory & fonge remedye, wiȝ ioȝe & wiȝ gode wille, & rediȝ þe chapitre of Holy Writt,
 10 2^o Paralipomenon 24^o. Þere it is writen in þis maner of kyng Joas: 'He dide what was² good & plesyng al þe tyme of Joab þe prest.' Also 4^o Regum 12^o c^o hit is³ writen: 'Kyng Joas cleped Joiada þe bischop & prestes also, & seide to hem, Why restore ȝe 'nouȝt þe holy helyng of þe temple? Þanne fang ȝe'
 15 no more money of þe peple by ȝoure owne ordinaunce, but ȝeldiȝ hit to restoring of þe temple & of Goddes⁵ hous.' Þanne
 þe prestes were forboȝde to fonge more money of þe peple. Take

Because you spend your time in evil and folly, and do not perform your proper office and service, you should lose your fee as would a knight who neglected his duty.

Joas a good priest and was praised by God.

¹ dewe AC: þew Ch S.

⁴⁻⁴ om. C.

² om. C.

³ om A.

⁵ God hys Ch.

not for honestye, no nor for your owne lawe, nor for dedes of mereye and charite, but in folȝ and bobance and in lykyng of
 20 this worlde, ye* dispende al that was gyuen you for an holy 14 b entent. Schal not his wages be stopped, that wyll not doo dedes of knyghthode? He that holdeth of an other, and dothe not his due office and seruice he shall lose and forgoȝ his fee. And for to make an ende of this question, and to put you to sylnce,
 25 I shall shewe you that, that shall make you sorye, and gladde to fynde the mene to set a remedy. Redeth in Holy wrytte. 2. Paral. Ca. 14. There it is wrytten of kynge Joas, that he dydde that that good was and plesyng to oure Lorde alle the dayes of Joidas the preeste. And of the same kynge
 30 we rede iiij. Regum 12. Kyng Joas called Joida the bysshoppe, and also the prestes, and to them he sayd: Why repayre ye not the coueryng of the temple? Loke therefore that ye take no more money of the peple by your owne ordynaunce, but applye it to the* instauration of the temple, and of Goddes
 35 house. And thus the preestes were forbydden to take any more money of the peple. Wherefore thou seest, that kynge Joas

hede how Kyng Joas was praysted of God, for he toke heede for
 þe offrynges schuld be spende in worschipe of God, by þe holy
 entent of hem þat ȝaf hem. God praisip kyng Joas forto schewe
 & leue vs ensample, þat Joas dide þat by myldnesse & by gode
 entent & nouȝt by couertise. And for þe kyng wolde put of 5
 eucl suspecioun, he wold haue þe bischop wiþ hym to witnesse.
 þane hit folewiþ, whanne he siȝ to myche money in þe tresory,
 þe kynges¹ writer & þe bischop wente vp into þe tresory, and
 helde out & tolde þe money þat was founden² in Goddes hous.
 Lo! þe good entent of þe kyng is y-praised þat toke hede,³ þat⁴ 10
 gode of þis olde chirche schuld be bisiliche y-saued & y-spend
 in gode vse & holy. I knowe hit well hit likeþ ȝou nouȝt to
 here þese wordes, & noþeles y speke nouȝt but wordes of Holy
 Writ. It is seide ȝou, þat ȝe haueþ y-fonge alle sicke lord-

¹ kyng hys Ch.³ hede of C.² I founde A C Ch S.⁴ þat þe A C Ch S.

was preysed of our Lord, for that he toke hede, that the 15
 offrynges shulde be spende to Goddes worshyppe, that is to
 saye, to the instauration of the temple, accordynge to the holy
 entente of them that gaue suche thynges. God preysethe this
 Kyng Joas, for to shewe and leaue vnto vs ensauple, that
 the sayde kyng, in his soo doynge, dydde not offende, for so 20
 moche as he dydde hit not for any couetousnesse, but of Goddelye
 zeale, not of ambition, but of deuoute relygyon. And the
 kyng, to the entente to eschewe yuelle suspeccion, he wolde
 haue the bysshoppe with hym to beare wytnesse, as foloweth.
 15 b And whanne he sawe to moche moneye in the Treasaurye,* the 25
 kynges wryter and the bysshoppe wente vppe in to the Trea-
 saurye, and poured oute and tolde the money, that was founde
 in goddes house; and they gaue hit after the noumbre and
 weyghte in to theyr handes, that were sourueyours of the
 masonrye of Goddes house. Lo the good intention of the kyng 30
 is preysed, that tooke hede, that the goodes of this olde church
 shulde be besyle saued, and spent to a good and a holye vse.
 I knowe well it lyketh not you to here these wordes, and yet
 neuerthelesse I speke not but wordes of Holy Writte. It is
 sayde to you before, that ye haue resceyued all suche lorde- 35

schipes & riches to help of youre lif to wages * of holy chyualrie. Fol. 4 a
to haue mete & drynke & cloþ; þerwip þe apostle seiþ þat he
helde hym apaide; and al þat is ouer þat nedip to mete &
drynke & helyng, 3e schulde spende in pore men & in dedes of
5 mercy. And 3if 3e do nouzt so, ¹ þanne we haueþ myche ¹ to do
þerwip. For þanne hit fallip to vs to take hede of 3oure tem-
poralte, þat 3e bigile ² þe quyk & þe dede.

Priests
should use
their sur-
plus on poor
men and
deeds of
mercy.

Clericus. Þis kyng toke nouzt þe godes & catel to his owne vse,
but he spende hit al ³ in holy chirche vse. 3e takip oure catel
10 & spendip hit in chiualrie & nouzt in vse of holy chirche. &
þerfore þe ensauple þat 3e bringip forþ is nouzt azenus vs noþer
azenus oure werkes and dedes; but 3e coloure oþer wise 3oure
violence & 3oure wrong.

This good
king spent
his goods
for the use
of holy
church and
not for
chivalry as
you do.

Miles. Alwey to 3oure owne harme 3e kikeþ azenus þe pricke
15 of kynges. Is it nouzt greuous to 3ou þat 3oure cosyns & 3oure
kynnesmen takip to hem of holy chirche goodes & catel, & som-

¹⁻¹ þanne moche haue we C.

³ om. C.

² bigile not C.

shyppes and riches to the helpe of youre lyfe and as the wages
of holy chiualry, and to the intent to haue cloth and foode; with Tim. 6.
whiche two the apostell saythe, he * helde hym payde; and all 16 a
20 the ouer plus besyde clothe and foode, ye ought to spende in
dedes of mercye & pitie, as on poore people, that haue nede and
on suche as be sycke and diseased, and oppressed with misery.
And if ye do not so, than muste we haue to do therwith: for
than it falleth to vs to take hede of your temporaltie, that ye
25 begyle not and deceyue the quyeke and the deed.

CLE. This kynge Joas toke not the goodes and cattell to his
owne vse, but he bestowed them on holyc churches vse. But
nowe a dayes ye toke our goodes, whiche ye spende not to the
vse of holy church, but on your busy and vnruly souldiors,
30 and on shippes and ingins of warre. And therfore the
ensauple that ye brynge forthe, is not agaynst vs, nor agaynst
our warkes and dedes; but ye wold therby colour your violence
and wronge.

MR. Alway to your * owne harme ye kycke agaynste the 16 b
35 pricke of kynges. It is not greuous to you, that your cousins
and kynsmen take to them of holy churches goodes and cattelles,

Your
cousins and
your kins
men take
the pro-
perty of
holy church.
You are
thus work-
ing against
God
Almighty.

tyme oþer persoones þat beþ nouȝt honeste in grete sclaudre to
ȝou & to al þe peple þat is vnder ȝow, & beþ ful venymous by
ȝoure owne euel ensauple in lyuyng? Þis ȝe suffriþ þat may
be cause of Goddes¹ wrepþe vppon þe kyng & vppon² al þe
rewme, þat recchelesliche suffriþ ȝou so frowardliche worche
aȝenus God Almyȝty. But ȝow semeþ þat hit is a greuous
wronge, þat þe kyng axeþ myldliche³ of ȝou & fangeþ &
þankeþ ȝou, as for þinge þat is graciouslich y-graunted; and
spendiþ hit nouȝt in his owne vse, but in ȝoure owne sauacioun
& in defence of holy chirche, & of youre owne godes and catel. 10

Clericus. Allas! wo is me wrecched man, ȝe to-tereþ & to-
haleþ & takip away my flesche & my skyn, & þat ȝe clepip
sauacioun.

Miles. Y pray ȝou leteþ be ȝoure noyse & ȝoure grucchyng,
& herkneþ pacientlich. Takeþ hede of ȝoure neiȝbores & of 15
ȝoure pore sugetis, þat beþ ful many in lond, & takeþ hede of
opere þat fangeþ of ȝoure catel also. ȝif þe kynges⁴ power

¹ God hys C.

² om. S.

³ mekeliche A.

⁴ kyng hys Ch.

and somtyme other persons, that be not honest, to the sklaunden
of you, and of all the people that be vnder you: and ye be full
venomous through your owne yuell ensample of lyuyng. This 20
ye suffre, the whiche may be cause of Goddes wrath vpon the
kyng, and vpon all the realme, the whiche recklesly suffreth you
so frowardly to worke agaynst Almyghty God. But to you it
semeth a greuous wronge, and in no wyse to be suffered, that
the kyng asketh mekely of you, and thanketh you for it, as for 25
a thyng graciously granted; and yet he doth not spende hit
to his owne vse, but for your saufegarde, and in the defence of
holy church, and of your goodes and cattell.

17 a CLERICVS. * Alas WO is me wretched man, ye tere & hale
away my flesshe and my skynne, and that ye calle saufgarde. 30

MILES. I praye you lettethe be your noyse and your grutch-
yng, & harkeneth paciently. Consyder your neyghbours
about you, that be many in londe, whiche wantyng, wherwith
to lyue, gape styлле after your goodes. If the kynges power

fayled, what reste schulde 3e have? Wolde nouzt alle gentel men & opere nedý & wasters, 3if þei hadde wasted her owne, turne to 3oure¹ & distrie al þat 3e haueþ? Þanne þe kynges strengþe is to 3ow in stede of a wal; & it is knowen² þat þe

In time of distress and trouble, the king's strength is to you instead of a wall.

5 kynges pees³ is 3oure pees,³ his sauacioun is 3oure sauacioun.

For & þe kynges power were away oper wiþdrawe, þanne as 3oure synnes axiþ now, þei þat comyneþ⁴ wiþ 3ou now, þei þat werreþ vpon 3ou, wolde destruye & waste 3oure gode, and compelle 3ou to be þralles. And 3if 3e wolde nouzt, al þat 3e

If the king's power were withdrawn you would become thralls, or lose all your goods.

10 haueþ were loste. How myche þanne wolde 3e paye for to haue þe kynges⁶ socour & his helpe, as 3e hadde raper? Þanne 3e seep⁷ þat whanne 3e 3eueþ a lytel what⁸ to þe kyng, 3e biggeþ 3oure owne sauacioun & saueþ 3oure owne⁹ goodes & catel, þat schulde be distried wiþ 3oure owne neiþbores & wiþ

15 men of straunge londes, nere þe kynges¹⁰ help & his socoure.¹⁰

¹ 3oure owne C.

² I knowe A C Ch S.

³⁻⁵ om. & C.

⁴ comuneþ A C S : comneþ Ch.

⁵ om. S.

⁶ kyng hys Ch.

⁷ sueþ S.

⁸ om. C.

⁹ om. S.

¹⁰⁻¹⁰ socour & his help S.

faylled, what reste shulde ye haue? Wolde not the gentyll men, suche as be nedý, and suche as prodigallye haue spende away theyr substance, whanne they haue consumed theyr owne, wol not they turne to yours, and waste and distroye all that ye

20 haue? Therfore the kynges strength is to you in stede of a stronge walle. And ye wotte very welle, that the knyges peace is youre peace; and the kynges saufegarde is your saufegarde. For if the kynges power wanted, or elles were withdrawn * 17 b from you: than (as your synnes asketh) they that commune with

25 you now, and they that wayte vpon you now, wold dystroy, waste, and consume your goodes, and compell you to be theyr thralles. And if ye wold not, all that ye have were vtterlye loste. Howe moche than wolde ye paye for to haue the kynges succour his helpe and defence, as ye had before? Than thus ye

30 se and perceyue many festlye, that whan ye gyue a lyttell portion to the kyng, you bye therwith your owne saufegarde, and therby ye saue to youre selfe, youre goodes and your cattals, that shuld be distroyde by your ennemies, and by men of

If the king
failed you,
would not
your
enemies
make war
upon you
and put you
out of your
place?

But alwey 3e haueþ be vnkynde to þe goodnesse þat me hap
y-do¹ 3ou; and so now 3e playnep & grucchip in 3oure owne
profit. 3if þe kyng failed wolde nouzt 3oure enemyes werre
vppon 3ou, & put 3ou out of 3oure place² & ³ of 3oure lond,⁴ &
take of 3ou al þat 3e haueþ, & leue 3ou pore, naked, & bare? ⁵
But 3if⁶ kynges & princes schal put hem to peryle of dep for
3ou, & defende 3ou vppon her owne coste,⁶ & 3e reste vnder her
wynges, & ⁷ ete & drynke wiþ grete solace & myrþe, & lye in
nesche beddes & sikerliche slepe, & do hem no socour wiþ
3oure riches in help of her coste, þanne it semeþ þat 3e wolde ¹⁰
Fol. 4 b mene þat onliche 3e * bep verrey lordes, and kynges & princes
of bonde condicioun, & so made þralles. Pouȝ men of holy
chirche haue reste y-graunted hit is nouzt grete, but þe riches
mot serue for men of holy chirche. 3e seyn þat pis is harde,
& 3e restep nouzt but gruccheþ alwey, er 3e be ouercome & ¹⁵

¹ y do to S.⁵ 3if þe C.² places S.⁶ costes C.³ & out C.⁷ om. A C Ch S.⁴ londes S.

straunge londes, ne were the kynges helpe and his succour. But
as ye haue alway ben vnkynd, for the goodnes that he hathe done
to you; euen so now ye playne and grutche, agaynste that that is
18 a youre owne profyte. If the kynge fayled * you wolde not youre
ennemyes warre vppon you, and putte you oute of your place, ¹⁰
and out of your lande, and take frome you all that ye haue,
and leue you poore, naked, and bare? and so stryken with
terrible drede, wolde ye not put your selfe to flyghte, and
wander ye forced not whyther? But and kynges and princis
at theyr owne costes, and to theyr great peryll and daunger of ¹⁵
theyr lyfes, be holden to defende you; and you to reste vnder
theyr wynges, and to eate & drynke with great solace and
myrthe, and to lye in softe and delicate beddes, and sikerly to
slepe, than it semethe, that ye wolde meane, that onely ye be
verye lordes, and kynges and princis be of bonde condicion, and ³⁰
vnto you seruantes and thralles.

If reste be graunted to men of the church, it is no great
18 b thyng if the ryches be reserued for vs of the lay * fee. This
is an harde thyng, saye ye, but ye wyll not reste, tylle ye be

y-schend as 3e bep wont by Holy Writ, þat 3e¹ mowe nouȝt
wipstonde. For of kyng Joas þat we spake of raper, hit is
writen,² 4^o Regum 2^o c^o: 'Joas kyng of Juda toke al þat was
halwed þat Josophath, Aaron & his fader Ocosias kyng of Juda
5 had halwed, & þat he had y-offred, & al þe siluer þat he myȝt
fynde in þe tresory of þe temple & in þe kynges³ palys, & sent⁴
to Asael kyng of Siria, & þo he went from⁵ Jerusalem.' Lo!⁶
openlich þou myȝt se þat he toke þat þat was halewide in
Goddess⁷ hous, forto paye raunsoum for⁸ þe peple, & noþeles he
10 spared nouȝt þe kynges⁹ palys whanne he toke al þat out of þe
temple. Also 3^o Regum 18^o c^o, Ezechias brake þe values of
þe temple of oure Lord & toke þe plates of golde þat he hym
silf had do¹⁰ þere, & ȝaf hem to þe kyng of Assiria. And ȝif

Holy Writ
tells how
Joas king of
Juda took
the hallowed
silver from
the temple
and sent it
to the king
of Assyria
to pay the
ransom of
the people.

Ezechias did
likewise.

¹ om. S.

⁶ lo hou S.

² I write A C Ch S.

⁷ God hys Ch.

³ kyng hys Ch.

⁸ to C.

⁴ sent hym C.

⁹ kyng hys Ch.

⁵ left margin H; to deleted in text.

¹⁰ I doo A C Ch S.

(as ye are wont) conuicted and also confounded by holy scrip-
15 ture; against the whiche ye can not resiste. For of Joas the
kyng, (of whome we spake before) hit is wrytten in the 4. boke
of Kynges, the 12. chaptre, and in the seconde booke of Paralī,
the 24. chapyter thus: wherfore Joas the kyng of Juda tooke
all that was halowed the which thynges Joram & Ochozias his
20 fathers, kynges of Juda had halowed, and whiche thynges he
hym selfe hadde offered vppe, and all the syluer that he coude
fynde in the treasurye of the lorde, and Palaice of the kyng,
and sente it to Azael, the kyng of Syrie, and he departed
from Jerusalem. Lo, here thou mayst plainly see, that for to
25 paye the peoples raunsomme, he toke those thynges oute of the
temple not withstan*dyng he spared not the kynges palayce, 19 a
whan he toke those thynges out of the temple.

Also in the 4. boke of Kynges, Cap. 18, it is thus redde of
the holy Kynge Ezechias. The same season Ezechias braake
30 the gates of the temple of the lorde, and toke the plates of
golde, that he hym selfe had there stycked vppe, and gaue them
to the Kynge of Assiriens.

And if thou woldest saye, that Ezechias did amysse, I

Holy Writ
praises
these men,
whom you
condemn.

God chooses
not the
people for
the places,
but the
places for
the people.

Your good
is the good
of Holy
Church, and
therefore of
the people
who make
the church.

pou seist þat Ezechias dide amys, ich answere for¹ Paralipomenon 32^o c^o, it is writen þat Ezechias was blamed² for noon of alle his werkis³ & dedes, but onliche for þe message of þe princes of Babilon. Who schal dampne hym þat Holy Writ praiseþ in alle his dedes? But 3e erreþ & knoweþ nouȝt⁵ þe sopnesse & þe vertue of Holy Writ. But what is þat *agenus* kynges & princes? 2^o Machabeorum 6^o c^o, hit is writen þat 'God chesip nouȝt þe peple for þe places,⁴ but þe places⁴ for þe peple.' Þanne me schal not spare þe chirche of lyme & of stoones whanne Cristen men bep in peryle. & Ezechias⁴ & 10 Josephath vnderstode wel þat, & Ezechias⁴ fulfilled hit wel truliche. 3if 3oure⁵ gode is holy chirche gode, & þe peple is a grete partye of holy chirche, schal nouȝt þanne holy chirche gode skilfullich be spend in helpe & sauacioun of þe peple? And so hit folewip, þat hit longeþ to þe goostlich⁶ holy chirche. 15 And oure Lord, by⁷ Math. in⁷ 12^o c^o seiþ: 'Y telle 3ow þis is more þanne þe temple.' For hit is no doute þe gostliche temple,

¹ to C.

² not I blamed A C.

³ werk C.

⁴⁻⁴ om. C.

⁵ oure A C.

⁶ goostlich of A C.

⁷⁻⁷ om. A C Ch S.

aunswere as it is sayde Secundo Paralipo, cap. 32. Ezechias is not blamed for any of all his workes, that he dyd, but onely for the message of the princis of Babylon. Thanne who shall 20 dampne hym, the whiche Holye Wrytte preyssethe in all his dedes? If he erre, not vnderstandynge the sothenesse and the veritie of Holye Wrytte, wherfore than stryue you agaynste 19 b kynges and princis? * It is red Secundo Machab. quinto. Godde chose not the people for the place, but the place for the 25 people. Therfore the church of lyme and stone shuld not be spared, whan the Chrysten people be in perylle. The which thyng the holy kynge Ezechiel and Joseph vnderstode and truly dyd fulfill.

If your goodes be holy churches goodes, and the people is a 30 great parte of holy church; shal not than holy churches goodes skylfully be spended for the succour and saufegarde of the people? And so it foloweth, that it longethe to the ghostlyche of holy church. And our Lorde saythe, Matthei duodesimo. I tell you, this is more than the temple. For it is no doubt 35

pat is mankynde, is more worpe pan pe temple pat is made of lyme & of ¹ stoon. Panne a kyng pat is mylde & wys most knowe ² Goddes wille Almyzty ³; & hym nedip nouzt to seche auctorite of oper men. & me schal nouzt spare pe temple of lyme & of ⁴ stoon forto wynne pees and sauacioun to pe peple pat is in peryle. And me schal flatrie wip pe chirche pat hap y-now ³ & somewhat more, but me schal socour pe grete nede of Cristen men. But for pe kyng as forpe as he may wole do what is lawful to hym by pe lawe of God Almyzty by zoure assent & zoure gode wille, zow schameþ nouzt to aysensaye ⁵ pe kyng pat dop graciously wip zou, & gouerneþ zow godelich alwey. But bep war for ⁶ Salomon seip ⁷: 'Pe kynges ⁸ wreþ is depes messenger.'

Clericus.⁹ May what is ones yzeue be wipcleped & wipdrawe? Panne may euereche awove be destried & fordo.

¹ om. C.

²⁻³ God Almyzties wil A C Ch S.

³ such S.

⁴ om. A C.

⁵ wipseie A C Ch S.

⁶ of C.

⁷ om. A C Ch.

⁸ kyng hys C.

⁹ above line in red ink, and in left margin, H.

the ghostly temple, that is mankynde, is more worth than the temple that is made of lyme and stone.

Therefore a mylde and a prudente kynge mote by these wordes knowe * the wyll of Allmyghty God; and hym nedeth ^{20 a} not to seke auctorite of other. Nor the temple of lyme and stone, nor the thynges dedicated therin, shulde not be spared to wyn peace and saufegarde to the people, that is in perill. Nor we shuld not smyle (after a flaterynge facion) at the superfluite of the church, but se that the great multitude of ²⁵ Christen people be holpe and succoured in theyr nede. And though the kynge dealeth gratusly with you, and goodly gouerneth you alway, yet ye be not ashamed to withsay hym in that that he may lawfully do by the lawe of God Almyghty, and wyll not with your good wyll therto assent. But take hede and ³⁰ beware by the wordes of Solomon: The kynges wrathe is the messenger of deathe.

CLE. If those thynges that are ones gyuen to God, may be withdrawn & taken away agayne * than all voves may be made ^{20 b} voyde & fordone.

What is
given to
God is hal-
lowed to
holy use.
What is

Fol. 5 a
more holy
than the
salvation of
Christian
men?

Myles.¹ þat ich haue yseide is nouȝt wipclepyng of ȝiftes þat
beþ yȝeue to God Almyȝty; but hit is þe puttinge & turnyng
of sicke ȝiftes to þe² vse to þe whiche vse þei were first y-ȝeue.
What is y-ȝeue to God is halwed to holy vse & mylde. What
is more holy þan þe sauacioun of Cristen men? What is licher 5
to þe doom of God þan³ wipstonde & put of enemyes, þeeues,
mansleers, * from Cristen men, & bigge pees to trewe men þat
beþ suget⁴ to ȝow? Þanne whanne þei beþ trulich y-spend in
sicke vse,⁵ þei beþ verreilich y-spend in þe vse⁶ for þe whiche
þei were halwed & y-ȝeue to.⁶ ȝif ȝe takip ȝow to Holy Writ, 10
why wipsigge ȝe oure priuileges & oure fredom þat we haueþ
by Holy Writ? Math. 17^o, Oure Lord spekip to Petre & axeþ
of hym in þis maner: 'Þe kynges of erþe, of whom fangeþ þei
tribute, of þe sones oþer of straungers?'.⁵ & Petre answerde &
seide 'of straungers'.⁵ And þanne Crist seide: 'Þanne þe sones 15

¹ in margin H.

² om. A C.

³ þan to C.

⁴ sogettis C.

⁵⁻⁶ om. C.

⁶ Clericus after to A C Ch S.

Mr. That that I haue sayd is not to withdrawe and take
away gyftes, that are gyuen to Allmyghty God; but to tourne
and apply those gyftes to suche vse, for the whiche they were
fyrste gyuen. For those gyftes that are gyuen to God, the
very same gyftes are dedicated to holy and charitable vses. 20
And what thyng can be more holy thanne the sauacion of
Christen people? And what is more precious vnto oure Lorde,
thanne to defende and sauely kepe the Christen people from the
inuasion of theyr ennemies, theues & murtherers, & to bye peace
to the true and faythfull subiectes? Therefore whan the goodes 25
of the church be spent on this wyse, than are they bestowed
to suche vse, for the whiche they were fyrst dedicate and
gyuen.

21 a CLERI. If ye take you to Holy Wryt, why do ye with *saye
and breake our priuileges and fredomes; whiche lyberties we 30
haue by Holy Wrytte? For our Lorde Mat. 17, sayde vnto
Peter: Howe semeth hit vnto the Symon, The Kynges of the
erthe, of whome take they tribute, of theyr owne sonnes or els
of other? of other sayde Peter. Jesus sayde to hym: Than
are the sonnes free. But leste we offende them, go vnto the 35

beþ fre. þat we slaundre hem nouȝt, go þou to þe see & cast yn a fische hook, & þe first fische þat comeþ¹ vp opene his mouþe & þou schalt fynde a stater; take þat & ȝeue hem for² me & for þee². Knyȝtes, ȝe seep þat clerkes þat beþ occupied
5 in Cristes³ seruise, beþ fre in alle poyntes.

Miles. ȝif þe gospel is take ariȝt, þe tȝibute was axed onlich of Crist, & onlich for hym þat⁴ ȝaf⁵ answeȝe was y-ȝeue; for he is Goddes⁶ sone & þe grete kynges⁷ sone. &⁸ as þe kynges⁷ sone is gretter þan þe bischop, so is Goddes⁶ sone gretter þan⁹ Emper-
10 our, & so þat answeȝe was y-ȝeue for Crist & nouȝt for ȝow.

Noþeles þei þat⁴ serueþ þe kyng in his presence schal nouȝt be put to comyn & greuouse charges; so we graunteþ þat clerkes in her owne persooone beþ fre, but nouȝt þei þat lede her lif as lewde men & nouȝt as clerkes to þe worschipe, but to¹⁰ gyle & fraude
15 of oure Lord, as hit is y-seye alday. But clerkes þat folewip

¹ come S.

²⁻² þe & for me A C.

³ Crist hys Ch.

⁴ þat þat C.

⁵ om. S.

⁶ God hys Ch.

⁷ kyng hys Ch.

⁸ om. A C.

⁹ þan þe A C Ch S.

¹⁰ om. A C: to þe Ch S.

Clerks that are occupied in the service of Christ are free in all points.

We grant that clerks in their own persons are free, but not those who live lewd lives.

see, and caste in a fysshe hooke, and the fyrste fysshe that comethe vppe, open his mouthe, and thou shalte fynde a stater, take that, and gyue it for me and for the. Ye se Sir Knyght that the clergie, bonde to the seruice of God is free in
20 all poyntes.

MI. If ye wyll consider, and vnderstonde the gospelle ariȝt (ye may se) that the tȝibute or dragme was demaunded onely of Christe: And onely for Christe this aunswere semeth to be gyuen: for he is the verye sonne* of God, the sonne of the
25 greatte myghty kyng. And as the kynges sonne is greater than the bysshop; So is Goddes sonne greater than the emperour. And so that aunswere was gyuen for Christe, and not for you. Neuer the lesse bycause they, that chieffely serue the kyng in his presence, shulde not be put to common and
30 greuouse charges, so we grant that clerkes in their owne persones be free, but not they, that leade theyȝ lyfes as lewde men, and not as clerkes to the worschype, but to the gyle, and fraude of oure Lorde, as hit is all daye sene. But clerkes that

The clerks
who follow
Christ are
free, not by
the gospel,
but by the
privileges of
kings and
princes.

Crist, as prestes þat serueþ þe auter, & bep occupied in holy seruise of God, we graunteþ atte fulle þat þei bep fre; but y say nouzt playnlich by þe gospel, but hit semþ acordyng to þe gospel, hit is graunted hem by pryuyleges of princes & of kynges. For sippe þe bygynnyng of holy chirche, Poul seide 5 ad Romanos 13^o cō: 'Euerech soule be suget to þe heigeste lordes nouzt onliche for wreppe, but for good conscience'; & afterward in þe same chapitre:¹ 'Ȝeldep & payep to alle men what is dewe,² to hem to whom tribute is dewe,² payep tribute. And to whom³ oþer rente and seruise 'is dewe payep hem 10 oþer rent & seruise.' Lo! take hede þat euereche is y-holde to be suget to tribute oþer rent & seruise.⁴ But ȝe bep now fre in ȝoure owne persooone by priuylege of princes. But schal ȝoure felde haue now þe same fredom, ȝif holy chirche biggeþ a felde þat is able to be y-telied? Schal he þat haþ þerof euerech ȝere 15 rente & tribute leese his rent & his tribute?

Paul says:
'to whom
tribute is
due pay
tribute',
but ye are
now free in
your own
person by
privilege of
princes.

Clericus. We spekiþ nouzt of rente & tribute, but of doying & dedes.

¹ manere C.

³ wam Ch.

² þewe Ch S.

⁴⁻⁴ om. C.

folowe Criste, as pristis that serue at the aulter, and that are fully gyuen and occupied in the seruyce of God, we graunt that those be free, I saye not clerely by the gospels: but bycause in 20 theyr so doynge hit discordethe not from the gospels, that 22 a fredome is gyuen* them by priuileges of princis. For sith the begynnyng of the churche Paule ad Ro. 13. saith: Euery soule be subiect to the higher powers, not onely (saythe he after) for wrathe, but also for conscience. And after folowyng he sayth: 25 Yelde and paye to all men that is due to them: to whom tribute is due, paye tribute: to whom custome is due, paye custome. Than ye se, that euery soule must be subiecte, beare tribute, and pay custome. But as I haue sayde, ye be nowe free in your owne persone, by priuileges of princis: but shal your 30 felde haue now the same fredome? If holye churche bye a felde that is able to be tyllid: shall he that hath therof euery yere rent and tribute, lose his rente and trybute?

CLE. Our communication nowe is not of rent and tribute, but of exactions.

Miles. As ich haue of somme felde certayn siluer oper gold,
 so hap þe Emperour of his empire, & þe kyng of his kyngdom
 may at his owne will arere skilful tribute for defens of þe comyn
 profit. Hit is graunted by clere resoun, þat þe comyn profit
 5 schal be defended vppon þe cost of þe comynthe; & what partie
 hit euer be þat is defended by þis defens, hit is ríztful þat he
 put wip opere men his schulder vnder þe charge. Þanne 3if
 possessiouns buþ as ríztfullich suget to þe comyn charge as to
 þe 3eres¹ rente, þei² schul be vnder charge who þat hem³ euer
 10 owe specialich, 3if hit nedip for defens of þe comynthe; for hem
 nedip þe comyn defens as alle oper nedip. 3if 3e⁴ seyn nay, by
 cause of prescripcioun and custom, þat 3e haueþ y-vsede in þe
 contrarie⁵ in longe fredome, we answerþ 3ou in as myche as
 3oure fredom is þe⁶ lenger by goodness & myldnesse of princes* Fol. 5 b
 15 & of kynges, in so myche 3e schulde be þe more redy & wilful

The king
 must have
 tribute to
 defend the
 common
 people.

¹ 3eres ende A: (but ende crossed hem S.

out): 3er hys Ch.

⁴ he C.

² he A C: a Ch S.

⁵ cuntreie S.

³ þei A: þen C: ham Ch: euer

⁶ om. S.

Mr. Lyke as I haue of some felde certayne rente; so the* 22 b
 Emperour of his empire, and the kynge of his kyngdome, may
 at his owne wyll reyse skylfull tribute for the defence of the
 common welthe. It is graunted by clere reason, that the
 20 common welthe shall be defended at the costes of the com-
 montie; and what so euer part therof enioyeth this defence, it
 is moste agreinge with ryght, that he set to his shulder, and
 helpe to beare the burthen. Than if possessions be as ryght-
 fully subiecte to the common charge, as to the yeres rente, he shall
 25 be vnder charge, who so euer oweth them, specially if it nedeth
 for the defence of the common welth; for they nede the comon
 defence, as al other nede. If ye say nay bycause of prescription
 and custome, that ye haue of so longe tyme vsede that lybertie:
 We answer you, In as moche longer, and of olde continuance
 30 that your fredome & libertie, by the good*nes and liberal 23 a
 benignite of kynges and princis, so moche the sooner ye shulde
 be prompte and redye with haste and mynde to pay your part,
 and helpe forwarde, where nede required. For Holy Wrytte
 fordoth this prescription, that ye alledge. For from Salomon

The Church
should do its
share in a
time of
need, as
certain cities
which were
freed by
custom,
paid with
good will.

forto paye in tyme of nede.¹ Also many citees pat were fre of
paiyngis by priuyleges & customs, payde wip gode wille, & 3itt
dop atte princes wille for defens & sauacioun of pe kyngdom, of
pe² persones & of pe comynte. 3if God for vnkyndenesse³ wip-
clepif for3euenesse of synne, bep⁴ 3e⁴ war pat 3e be nouzt worpi⁵
to bere more charge bycause of 3oure vnkyndnesse³ & rebelnesse,
& to lese atte laste 3oure catel & 3oure power.

Can the king
take from us
grace that
was granted
to us by his
prede-
cessors?

Clericus. Schal pe kyng take from us grace pat is graunted
us by kynges pat were his predecessours & by opere noble princes?
& may he⁶ vndo priuyleges pat bep⁷ graunted to⁶ hym of olde 10
tyme by noble princes?

Kings of old
granted you
certain

Miles. Forsope y graunte pat grete priuyleges bep⁷ graunted
to 3ou by noble princes & kynges. Perfore 3e schulde knowe
pat al pat⁷ gouernours of pe comynte dop, bei dop hit al for

¹ Written after 'nede': 'Vor
holy writ vordop his prescripeyon
pat 3e aleggeþ. Vor vram Salomon
to Joas & vram Joas to Ezechias,
hyt ys yrad of no suche doying, as
Ezechias dude yn tyme of neode.'
A C Ch S.

² om. C.

³⁻³ repeated C.

⁴ pe A: om. C Ch.

⁵ be A C Ch.

⁶ to 3ow A.

⁷ pat pe A C Ch: pat pat S.

to Joas, and from Joas to Ezechiell it is redde of no suche 15
doynge, as Ezechiell dydde in tyme of nede. Also many cytyes,
that were by priuileges and custome free from payenge of
exactions; haue both paciently payde, and also do pay with
good wyll at this day, at their princis pleasure, for the defence
of the realme, of the commonaltie, or of persons. If God for 20
vnkyndenes; calleth agayne forgyuenes of synne; beware lest
for your rebellyon, that ye deserue no lesse, but also to be
further charged, and at the laste to be strypped from al your
goodes and power.

23 b CLE. Shall^{*} the kynge beryne and take awaye from vs, the 25
gracis granted vs by kynges, that were his predecessours and
by other noble princis? And may he fordo the priuileges of
blessed fathers granted to holy church?

MI. I deny not it is trouthe, great and large priuileges be to
you granted by kynges and princis. Therefore ye oughte to 30
vnderstande and knowe that what so euer the gouernours of the

profit of þe comynte¹ tofore her owne sauacioun; and þat doyng is blisful in princes & in kynges by ensauple of Holy Writ. ^{privileges for the profit of the people,}
 20 Regum 6^o c^o. Perfore it is knowen by witnesse cleer and trewe & by certeyn resoun, þat þei graunteþ nouȝt by her wityng² þat schuld afterward be harme & damage to þe comynte. ^{and not for harm and damage.}
 But ȝif eny priuylge þat is graunted, is y-founde & y-knowe harmful & greuous to þe comynte, hit schuld be wipcleped in tyme of nede³ in help of þe rewme. Princes & kynges may bynyme⁴ ȝow grace þat is to ȝou⁵ y-graunted. & as tyme axep
 10 we fyndeþ þat Salomon þe wise in peynyng of þeeþe, chaungide

¹ in so muche þat hey putteþ þe Doute ȝou nouȝt þat in tyme of
 sauacion of þe comynte S. nede S.

² writyng A C.

⁴ bemene C.

³ for profit of þe comynte;

⁵ om. C.

comou welth do, they intended it all together for the profite of the comon weale, hauynge regarde speciallye thervnto accordynge to this rule. They dispose all thynges in suche wyse, that they preferre the common welthe before theyr owne; whiche in a
 15 prince is a thyng moste glorious, wherof Dauid is example. II. Regum. Therefore it is knowen by witnes clere and true and eke by very reason, that they graunte nothyng by theyr writinge,* that shulde afterwarde be harme and damage to the
 24 a common weale. But if any priuilege that is graunted, be founde
 20 and knowen hurtfull and greuous to the common weale, it maye be repelled and fordene in tyme of nede. Therefore it is not to be doubted, but that the hygh princis for the necessary busynes of the realme, maye alter and chaunge (as reason and tyme requireth) the gravis and priuileges to you granted, and
 25 by the lawes establiſshed. As we rede of the mooste wyse kynge Salomon, in the peyne of thefte, chaunged some what of goddes lawe.

CLER. The emperours and not the kynges haue established tho thynges. Therefore, nowe Syr Knyghte the emperours must
 30 gyde the raynes of the lawes.

MI. This answer is blasphemous. And eyther (as it semeth) ye are ignoraunte of the begynnyng of a * kyngedome, or else
 24 b (whiche is moste lykely) ye enuie the hygh estate of the realme. If ye well beholde the actes of greatte Charlemayne, or lysted

Because the king is above all others in the land, he is above customs, privileges and freedom while he is a rightful king with full power.

somewhat of Goddes¹ lawe. For as pe Emperour may make lawe in pe empire & put oper law per-to, oper wipdrawe somme of his owne lawe, so may pe kyng of Fraunce put of² al pe emperours lawe, & change euereche partie per-of at his owne likyng, oper exile hem & put hem out of his lond & make newe lawes at his owne wille. For 3if any happe fallip wherfore hit nedip to make eny³ maner statute, 3if pe kyng may nou3t do hit in his owne lond, panne noon oper may; for aboue hym is no man in his lond. & perfore sire clerk chastip 3oure tonge & knowlechip pat pe kyng may be aboue⁴ customs, priuyleges, & fredoms while he is rixtful kyng wip ful power, & pat he may putt to priuyleges & lawes, & wipdrawe &

¹ God hys Ch.

² om. C.

³ euery C.

⁴ aboue 3oure S.

to rede the auncient approued hystories; ye shall fynde, that the realme of Fraunce is but a portion of the empire by a iust diuision seperated from it, and was by the space of 500 yeres egall therto bothe in dignitee and auctoritie. Therfore what so euer priuilege of dignite the empire holdeth in one part the same holdeth the realme of Fraunce in another. For whan by brotherne the realme of Fraunce was deuyded from the other parte of the empire: What so euer lawes power, or dignite the empire opteined and exercysed ouer and vppon the sayde parte thus diuided, the verye selfe power fell to the frenche kynge. And therfore lyke as all thynges conteyned within the boundes of the empire,* is well knowen to be subiecte to the empyre; so lykewyse all thynges within the boundes of the realme, be subiecte to the realme! And lyke as the emperour may make lawes ouer al his empire, and to them adde more or diminisshe, as he thinketh good; so maye the Kynge of Fraunce, eyther vtterly repelle the emperours lawes, or change which of them hym lyst: or els cleane exilynge and fordoynge these lawes, maye at his pleasyre ordeyne and make newe. For whan nede shuld requyre (as it ofte chaunceth) to enact and ordeyne a statute, if the kynge that is the chiefe, coude not do it; than there is none other that canne; for there is none aboue hym. And therfore syr clerke refrayne your tongue, and aknowledge the kynge by his royall power to be aboue your lawes, customes

chaunge & redresse euereche þat erreþ by¹ consail of resoun & assent of lordes as hit semeþ þat resoun axip. & þerfore 3if 3e haueþ y-seye² ouȝt redressed oper chaungide in help of þe kyngdom, suffre 3e hit pacientliche. For Poul þe apostle ad
 5 Romanos 13^o c^o seip: 'Who þat wipstondip³ power wipstondip³ Goddes 'ordinaunce.' Þanne no man kike⁵ vnriȝtfullich aȝenus þe pricke & þat 3e busche⁶ nouȝt ȝoure self aȝenus þe pricke of synne. 'Beþ suget to ȝoure souereynes & beþ vnder hem', so seip Paul ad Thimotheum 19^o c^o. In Abiathars tyme
 10 prince of prestes, David eet & ȝaf hem þat were wip hym to ete in tyme of nede, loues þat were cleped panes proposicionis, þat were ordeyned onliche for prestes, & noon oper had leue þerof forto ete. Also in þe gospel hit is writen: 'Þe holy day is made for man & nouȝt man for þe holy day.'

Be subject to your sovereign and be under him.

The holy day is made for man, and not man for the holy day.

15 Explicit dialogus inter clericum & militem.

¹ be C.

² y saye at þis tyme A C Ch S.

³⁻⁵ wr. in margin Ch.

⁴ God hys Ch.

⁵ like A: crossed out and kike in margin S.

⁶ busshe A C: boysche Ch: boosche S.

priuileges, and liberties; and that he may by the aduise * of 25 b his nobuls adde or diminyssche what so euer he thynke accordynge with equite and reson: and therfore what so euer he chaungeth in those dayes for the welthe of the realme, take it
 20 well in worthe and patiently suffre it. For so Paule teachethe you writynge to the Romaines the XIII. Chapter, where he sayth: who that resisteth the hygh power, resysteth the ordynaunce of god. And agayne in the ende of the pistell to the Hebrewes he saythe: Obeye ye to your soueraynes, and humble
 25 your selfe to them.

Also Kyng Dauid, I. Regum 21, vnder Abiathor the prince of the pristis, in tyme of nede dyd not alonelye eate the breade called panes propositionis, (Wherof to eate it was not lefull for any man except the priestes) but also gaue the same breade to
 30 eate to them that were with hym. And it is written Marke the II. Chap. The * holy day is made for man and not man 26 a for the holy day. And so the Lorde is the sonne of man, and also is Lorde of the holy day. It is written in the fyrst boke

of Parali, the 39. Chap. In thy hande is the greatnes and
 empire of all. It sayth farther there: They honored God, and
 than the kynge. And it sayth there. They secondely anointed
 Salomon the sonne of Kynge Daud, they anoynted him in our
 Lorde to be their prince, and Sadoch to be theyr bysshop. And, 5
 2. Parali, 23, it saythe: Nor none other shulde entre in to the
 house of our lord but priestes, and suche of the deacons as
 ministred, they all onely shulde entre in, bycause they be
 halowed: and all the residue of the common people shulde kepe
 the watche of our Lorde. The deacons inuironned the kynge 10
 aboute every man hauynge his armour. And if any other
 26 b entred into* the temple of the Lord he was slayn. They shulde
 attende vpon the kynge bothe whan he entred in, and whan he
 wente out. Also Joada the bysshoppe anoynted hym, and his
 children prayde for hym and sayd, 15

God saue the Kynge.

CLE. It draweth faste towarde nyght: to morowe mornynge
 I wyll answer you to every thyng. FINIS.

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CVM PRIVILEGIO.

PART II

RICHARD FITZRALPH'S SERMON : 'DEFENSIO CURATORUM'

Harl. 1900.

'Demeþ nouzt by þe face but riȝtful doom ȝe deme,' John 8^o c^o. John 8. 15?

- Holy fader, in þe bygynnyng of my sermoun, ich make a protestacioun, þat it is nouzt myn entent to affirme to say, noþer to holde eny þinge, þat is contrarie to Cristen feiþ, oþer to
 5 Cristen lore. Also, þat it is nouzt myn entent to counsaile, noþer¹ axe destruccioun & vndoing of þe ordres of beggers, þat beþ² apprued by holy chirche, & confermed of popes; but y schal make evidence,³ & consaile þat pese⁴ ordres schulde be brouȝt to þe clenness of her first ordenaunce; & ich am alwey
 10 redy to þe correccioun of ȝoure holynesse. And forto descende anon to my mater; Lo! holy fader, ich came in a tyme to Londoun for certeyn nedes of my chirche of Armachan, & fonde þere wise doctors stryue vpon þe beggerie, & beggyng of þe Lord oure Saueoure. & ofte ich was preyed to preche to þe
 15 peple, and ich preched seuen sermons oþer eiȝte to þe peple in her owne tonge, wiþ þe⁵ protestacioun þat ich haue seide & tolde, þere nyne⁶ conclusiouns. For pese⁷ conclusiouns, & oþer þingis, þat ich þere seide, freres þouȝ⁸ hit turne hem to a iape, appelle to þis⁹ court.
- 20 Þe firste conclusioun was þis: Oure Lord Ihesus, in his conuersacioun of manhed, alwey was pore, nouzt for he wolde & loued pouert by-cause of hitsilf. Þe secunde conclusioun is
 þis: Oure Lord Ihesus neuer beggide wilfulliche. Þe þridde

I shall make evidence and counsel that these orders should be brought to the clearness of their first ordinance.

I came to London and preache seven or eight sermons to the people.

Friars have turned these nine conclusions to a jape.

The nine conclusions:
 1. Jesus was always poor.
 2. He never wilfully begged.

¹ noþer to C.

² buþ Ch.

³ euydences S.

⁴ þues Ch.

⁵ om. C.

⁶⁻⁸ þerynne C.

⁷ þe A C: þe whiche S.

⁸ þei (y) A C: þeiȝ S.

⁹ þis holy S.

¹⁰ was A C Ch S.

3. He never taught to wilfully beg.
 4. He taught that no man should wilfully beg.
 5. No man may be holy and accept what he begs wilfully.
 6. Wilful begging is not the rule of Friars.
 7. Pope Alex. IV does not oppose any of the aforesaid conclusions.
 8. The Parish church is the proper place to shrive parishioners.
 9. The Parish priest is the proper person to shrive parishioners.
 I pray your holynesse that you consider my conclusions, as well as the contrary conclusions of the Friars, and judge accordingly.

conclusioun: Crist neuer tauzt wilfulliche to¹ begge. Þe ferþe conclusioun was þis: Oure Lord Ihesus tauzte þat no man schuld wilfulliche begge. Þe fifte² conclusioun was þis: no man may redilich & holiliche wilful beggyng vppon hym take, euermore to holde. Þe sixte conclusioun was þis: hit is nouzt⁵ of þe reule of frere menours, wilful begginge to kepe & holde. Þe vii³ conclusioun in þat mater was þis: þe ferþe pope Alisaundre's bille,⁴ þat dampneþ þe libel of maistres, wipseip noon of þe forseide conclusiouns. Þe viii⁵ conclusioun, & þe first, in mater of priuileges was þis: for parischons of eny¹⁰ chirch to schryue hem wip exclusioun of oþer places,⁶ þe parische chirche is more worþi to be chosen⁷ þan oratory oþer chirche of freres. Þe ix⁸ conclusioun,⁹ & þe secunde⁹ in þis¹⁰ mater is þis: for parischons of eny chirche to schryue hem onlich to oon persone, þe ordenarye persone is more worþi to be chosen¹⁵ þan eny freres persone.

Þese conclusiouns, holy fader, in myn open sermons, wip Holy Writ, & resouns, ich preued, as ich myzt & schal also declare hem at þis time as God graunteþ¹¹ grace, & somewhat harder y schal put herto now in þis place as ich bihet freres at²⁰ þat tyme. And y pray 3owre holynesse mekelich & deuoutlich, þat 3e take hede to þe forseide conclusiouns & to þe resons þat ich haue made perfore, and schal make at þis time; and also þat 3e take hede to þe resouns þat¹² freres makip for þe contrarie. & 3if her resouns beþ strengre þan myn, y pray¹³ þat²⁵ ich be punysched; & 3if my¹⁴ resouns¹⁵ be strengre þan her resouns, be þei¹⁶ punysched for þat þei¹⁶ haueþ schlaundred me, dispised & diffamed priuilych & openlich. But touchyng¹⁷ þat, me is leuer suffre þan folowe þe lawe to her punyschyng. To holde alwey as y seide first: 'Demeþ nouzt by þe face but³⁰ riȝtful dome 3e deme.'

¹ om. A C Ch S.

² fifte A C.

³ seuenþe A C Ch S.

⁴ bulle A S.

⁵ eightþe A C: eigteþe S.

⁶ place S.

⁷ chose A C Ch S.

⁸ nynthe A C Ch S.

⁹⁻⁹ om. A: & þe firste C.

¹⁰ þe C.

¹¹ graunteþ me C S.

¹² þat þe C.

¹³ preye 3ow C.

¹⁴ myne S.

¹⁵ resoun A C.

¹⁶ hey S.

¹⁷ techinge S.

But for by lawe of God & of kynde, þe comyn nedes schal be sett tofore singuler nedes, ich wole bigynne atte mater of priuileges þat touchip al þe clergie, & alle Cristen men. Y say, as me semep, ȝif* me axe what place is moste worpi to be chose for
 5 parischons of eny chirche syngulerliche to schryue hem ynne, hit semep me þat þe parische chirche is a place more worpi to be chose þan oratorie oper¹ chirche of freres; for þe parische chirche is for schrifte of þe parischons þat is schryuen, more siker, more profitable, & voydeþ mo damages; þat þe parische
 10 chirche wiþ excluding of alle oper places is most siker place to be schryue & buried ynne. Y preue hit is a place y-hote of God & his lawe²; Deuteronomii xii^o c^o, hit is writen : ' Þese bep heestes & domes þat ȝe schal do & holde. Ȝe schal come to þe place þat ȝoure Lord God chesip of alle ȝowre lynages to
 15 sette þere his name & to wonye þere. In þat place ȝe schal offre ȝowre offryngis, and sacrificis; ȝoure tepingis & þe³ firste fruyt of ȝoure hondes; ȝoure avowes and ȝiftes; þe first birpe⁴ of ruþeren⁵ & of foules⁶. ' Þanne hit folewiþ in a forbeding wise : ' War þat þou offre nouȝt þyn offrynges in euereche⁷ place
 20 þat þou seest⁸ wip⁹ ynne þee; ' but onliche in¹⁰ þat place, þat¹⁰ God chesip in oon of ȝoure lynages; þere offre þou þyn offrynges & al þat ich hote þee. ' & so it is soþe þat God hotep þat euerech man schal do offryngis, & schrifte, & al þat¹¹ þe lawe hotip of sacramentis, in a place þat God chesip, þat is, þe
 25 parische chirche, as þe wordes menep. Þerfore hit is written, Leuitici 4^o c^o: ' Euerech⁷ man þat synnep by vnkunnyng, schewe hymself to þe prest, & hit schal be forȝeue hym. ' And also alle opere places bep forbode by þe lawe. And hit semep certeyn þat þe place of freres is nouȝt of God y-chose by þe lawe
 30 to do siche deuociouns, but onlich y-graunted by popes, & as it is seide toforhand, forbode by þe lawe. But þe place þat God hotip is more certeyn & more¹² siker¹³ for schrifte of

Fol. 6 b

8th Conclusion :
 The parish church is the more worthy to be chosen for shrift, as it is more profitable and avoideth more damages. It is the place commanded by God and his law, as shewn in Deut. 12: 5, 6,

and also in Deut. 12: 13, 14,

also in Leviticus 4.

All other places are forbidden by the law.

¹ or A C.² lawe for S.³ ȝoure S.⁴ burpe A S.⁵ reþeren A : roþeren C S.⁶ scheps written above foules C.⁷ euery A C : ech S.⁸ sixte A C Ch S.

⁹⁻⁹ þyn eyȝe A C Ch S: after eyȝe is written þat þou sixte wiþ þyn eyȝe C.

¹⁰⁻¹⁰ om. C.¹¹ þat þat C.¹² om. A C Ch S.¹³ siker þan þe place þat god forbodeþ by his lawe and is soþe

A parish-
ioner may
have sus-
picion that
the church
of friars is
interdicted.

This is
shown by
the decretal,
which
forbids.

Also a
parish
church is a
place for
using sacra-
ments, and
is chosen by
God.

parischons þan eny oratorie eþer¹ chirche of freres. Also,
comynliche, a parischon² schal nouȝt haue suspecion þat his
parische chirche³ is entredited, but he may verreylich haue
suspecion þat þe chirche of⁴ freres is entredited. Þerfore⁵ it
semep þat þe parische chirche is þe⁶ more siker place. And⁵
þat hit myȝt seme þat þe chirche of freres is entredited, hit is
preued by þe decretal *de sepulturis* in 6^o c^o 'animarum periculis'.
Þerein, a certeyn manere, alle religious men bep forbode vpon
peyne of entredityng of her chirche, & chirche heye,⁷ þat þei⁸
schul nouȝt counseil no man to swere neþer to make awoȝe;
noþer to plijȝ his truþe, noþer to behote in oþer manere wise to
chese buryng place at her chirche; so þat ȝif þei counseileþ
þerto eny maner wise, her chirche is entredited, & her chirche
heye⁹. Oþer ȝif þei counseileþ hym, þat haþ y-chose his buriels
among hem, nouȝt to chaunge his wille; & comynliche it is seide
þat freres counseilþ so men; þanne a parischon may verreylich
haue suspecion þat her place is entredited. Þis may be con-
fermed in oþer manere: a parischon knowip, as he is y-holde to
knowe, þat his parisch chirche is a place for vsyng of sacra-
mentis, y-chose & y-hote of God; and þe place of freres forbode
by Goddes lawe, & no suche wolde chese his burielis among
hem but by informacioun, & consail of freres; for hit semep
siker ynouȝ þat no seculer man confortep, noþer counseilþ so
for to do. Here-of hit semep, þat hit may be concluded as me
may in moral mater: þat for schrifte of parischons her owne

Fol. 7 a parische chirche is more siker place þan eny place of freres.*
I seide, & este y seye, þat for schrifte & buryng of parischons,
her owne parische chirche is more profitable place þan eny place
of freres. First for hit is a place y-chose of God, & þer¹⁰ by¹¹
more alowed of God þan eny chirche of freres, þat is nouȝt so
expresslich y-chose of God, noþer of holy chirche, but y-graunted

suffred & graunted. Þanne hit
semep þat þe parische chirche is mor
certayn and more siker A C Ch S:
place S.

¹ oþer A S: or C.

² aparischon comynliche S.

³ om. A.

⁴ of þe A.

⁵ þat for A.

⁶ om. S.

⁷ þey A: ȝerde C: hey S.

⁸ hey S.

⁹ hawe A: ȝerde C: hey S.

¹⁰ þei A C.

¹¹ be A C.

by¹ procuryng of freres. Perfore hit semep þe more profitable place, & more alowed & leef² to God; for hit is y-chose of God.

Also þe parischon, þat is lawfullich y-schryue in his parische chirche, hap mede of double obedience. For he hap mede, in
 5 þat he³ is obedient to Goddes heest, & schryueþ him. 'Also he hap, in þat he³ is obedient to Goddes heeste, & schryueþ⁴ in⁵ þe place þat God hap y-chose perto. He,⁶ þat þe freres schryueþ, leesip his⁷ secunde mede, as hit semep; for God hotep no parischon, noþer counsailip to be y-schryue, noþer y-
 10 buried atte freres. Panne for schrifte, & buryyng of parischons, her owne parische chirche is more profitable place þan eny place of freres. Also, in þe parische chirche, ouer alle, opere neiȝ⁸ ouer al, by lawe of God, & of holy chirche, is oper schuld be mo bedemen þan in eny chirche of freres, ȝhe⁹ siche ten.

15 Panne, euereche parischon may trowe þat he¹⁰ is more y-holpe by prayers of mo bedemen, þan in eny churches of freres. Y seide, & seye efte, þat¹¹ schrifte & buryyng in þe parisch chirche. voydeþ mo damages & desauauntages þan schrifte oper buryyng in eny chirche of freres. For in þe parische chirche is more
 20 profit & more surete; and ȝif¹² it were y-do in eny chirche of freres as I haue seide, þis¹³ profit & surete were lost, & þat were damage & desauauntage, greuous, & huge.¹⁴

Y seide, & efte y seye, ȝif me aȝep what persoon is most worthi to be chose for singular¹⁵ of parischons, a frere or þe
 25 ordynarie,¹⁶ y say, þat¹⁶ þe ordynarie is more worþi to be chose for schrifte þan eny frere. For he¹⁷ is more profitable, & schrifte þat is schewide singulerliche to hym, voydeþ mo desauauntes & damages. ¹⁸First y saye þat þe ordinarie is þe more siker persone¹⁸; for as y schewide in þe raper article, he¹⁷ is y-fonge
 30 a persoon of God, & of holy chirche, and of þe comyn lawe; & þe frere is forbode by þe lawe. Panne þe ordynarie is þe¹⁹

The man who is lawfully shriven in his parish church has a reward of double obedience, (1) he obeys God's command in being shriven, and (2) he obeys God's command in being shriven at the parish church.

In the parish church there is more profit and surety to those who are shriven.

9th Conclusion: The ordinary is more worthy to be chosen for shrift than any friar. He is the more proper, as he is chosen a parson by God and

¹ be C.

² luf A: loued C: luf S.

³ a S.

⁴⁻⁶ om. C.

⁵ him in A.

⁶ hem S.

⁸ nyȝe A: nyh C.

⁹ ȝe A C Ch S.

¹⁰ a S.

⁷ þis S.

¹¹ þat þat A C.

¹² om. C.

¹³ pues S.

¹⁴ hoyge S.

¹⁵ singulerte C: singular schrift S.

¹⁶⁻¹⁸ om. C.

¹⁷ a S.

¹³⁻¹⁸ om. C.

¹⁹ om. C.

holy church,
and of the
common
law.
The
parishioner
has a
greater
trust in the
ordinary.

He may
have sus-
picion of the
Friar, as
his power is
bound be-
cause he is
cursed,

as is shown
in the
decretal.

Friars are
cursed
because they
take tithings
that belong
to the
church.

They are
also cursed
because they
absolve
men who
have been
condemned
by the law
of the
country or
the church.

more siker persone. Also þe ordinarie is more y-bounde to his
parischons þan is a frere. Þanne þe parischon may, ¹ verreilich
& more sikerliche ¹, triste ² þat þe ordynarie wole more bisiliche
ordeyne for his sauacioun þan wole eny frere, þat is a straunge
persoone, as a bodiliche leche þat is preuy & y-knowe is more ⁵
y-holde to þe seke man þan a straunge leche. Also by þe ³
comyn cours, þe parischon douteþ nouzt noþer schal doute of
his ordinarie, weþer ⁴ his power to assoile his sugetis be y-bounde
oper no; but of freres he may haue verreiliche ⁵ suspecioun, and
trowe þat her power is y-bounde for diuerse cursyngis; & wiþ ¹⁰
oute eny doute hit is more siker to be schryue to hym þat haþ
fre power, þan to hym þat his power is y-bounde. Þanne þe
ordinarie is þe more siker persone, & þe more certeyn. & þat
me may trowe þat freres beþ acursed, hit is preued, first, by þe
decretal in Cle. Decimis ⁶. Þere it is seide þat 'alle men of ¹⁵
religioun þat haueþ no benefice ⁷, beþ a-cursed, ȝif þei ⁸ wiþ-
holdeþ, oper wiþdraweþ, oper fondeþ to appropre to hem wiþout
a laweful cause, by ⁹ any maner, colour, oper sleiþþe ¹⁰, riȝtes oper
teþinges, þat beþ dewe ¹¹ to holy chirche.' & it semeþ no dowte,
by Goddes owne lawe, þat teþinges of byqueestes & of fre ȝiftes ²⁰

Fol. 7 b is detty, & *dewe ¹¹ to parische churches, & to curatours þerof.
& so seyn ¹² þe doctors Innocencius & Hostiensis. Þanne alle
freres þat bynymeþ parische churches þe teþinge ¹³ of þat ¹⁴ is
y-ȝeue hem oper biqueþe, beþ acursed. For þei payeþ neuere
teþinge of siche biquystes & ȝiftes, as it is comynliche seide. ²⁵
þe same is preued also by þe chapitre 'religiosi priuilegiis' in
Cle. Þere alle religious men beþ acursed ¹⁵ in dede, þat assoyleþ
eny men þat beþ acursed by statutes of prouynces oper of
synodes, þe whiche prelates of holy chirche and her penitau-
sers schulde assoyle. & freres beþ acursed þat assoileþ freres ³⁰
þat hereþ ¹⁶ schriftes while her power is y-bounde. In my

¹⁻¹ moresykerliche & vveryliche S.

² truste A C.

³ om. C.

⁴ where C.

⁵ verrailly haue C.

⁶ Lat. Clementinis de decimis.

⁷ benefices S.

⁸ hey S.

⁹ be C.

¹⁰ sleiȝte A C: scleiȝþe S.

¹¹ pewe S.

¹² seiþ A C: seggeþ S.

¹³ tueþinges A.

¹⁴ om. C S.

¹⁵ acorsed of S.

¹⁶ huyreþ S.

diocesi Armacan, y trowe y haue two þousand sugettes, man-
 sleers, comyn þeeues, incendiaries þat settiþ houses afyre¹, &
 oper euel doeres, þat bep acursed by sentence euerече 3ere,
 of þe whiche vnneþe comeþ to me & to my penitauners, fourty
 5 a 3ere; & siche fongeþ² þe sacramentis as oper men dop; &
 me³ trowiþ, þat þei⁴ bep assoyled, & by noon oper þan by
 freres, wiþ-oute drede, for noon oper men assoileþ hem. & me³
 trowiþ þat þei⁴ bep assoiled. & so parischons may verreiliche
 trowe þat þese confessours bep wrapped & snarled in þe same
 10 curs, so þat her power is y-bounde. And so it is þe lasse siker
 to be schryue to hem, while þei⁵ mowe nouzt assoile wiþout
 dedly synne. & 3if þei⁵ þat⁶ bep schryue trowiþ hit, þei⁵ bep
 assenting to þe synnes of freres, 3if þei⁷ fangeþ absolucioun. Þe
 apostle seiþ ad Romanos 2^o: 'Þei⁵ þat dop siche dedes, ⁸bep
 15 worpi þe deþ, & nouzt onliche þei þat dop siche dedes, but also
 þei þat assentiþ to hem þat dop siche dedes⁸'. Also 2^o Para-
 lipomenon c^o 19^o hit is writen þat John⁹ þe prophete seide
 to Josophath kyng of Juda: 'þou helpest¹⁰ þe wicked man
 & dost frendship to hem þat hateþ Oure Lord; þefore þou
 20 schalt disserue Goddes wreppe.' And so hit sweþ,¹¹ þat þe
 ordynarie is more siker þan eny frere.

Also þe same is preued 'per cupientes de penis' in Cle. Þere
 is denounsed pre maner sentence¹² of cursinge. By þe firste
 sentence,¹² alle men of religioun bep acursed, þat spekiþ in
 25 sermons oper elles-where azenus payng of tepinges, þat is
 dewe¹³ to holy chirche. ¹²& so dop, as one seiþ, comynliche,¹²
 confessours of freres, & telleþ openlich, þat 3euers of almes in
 tepinge, of wynnyng of chaffare, bep nouzt y-holde to paye
 tepingis of brede,¹⁴ of wyn, of ale, & of oper¹⁵ smal pingis. Y tolde
 30 þe contrarie, & seide, þat þei¹⁶ bep y-holde to make mencion
 among her wynnyng of smale 3iftes, as wel as of þe¹⁵ grete.

Out of 2,000
 men who
 were con-
 demned in
 Armacan
 for various
 crimes, only
 40 were
 shriven by
 the parish
 priest. The
 others had
 been shriven
 by friars.

Friars may
 not absolve
 without
 deadly sin,
 and those
 who are
 absolved
 also sin.
 See
 Romans 2.

Also
 IIChronicles
 19: 2.

Then the
 ordinary is
 more siker
 than the
 friar.

Three curses
 by the
 decretal:
 (1) Those
 who in their
 preaching
 speak
 against
 paying of
 tithes, as do
 friars.

¹ on fyre A C: afyre S.

² om. C.

³ þei A C.

⁴ a S.

⁵ hey S.

⁶ om. S.

⁷ he A C: a S.

⁸⁻⁸ om. C.

⁹ ion S.

¹⁰ kepest S.

¹¹ sewep A C Ch S.

¹²⁻¹² om. C.

¹³ þewe S.

¹⁴ of aluesse of bread S.

¹⁵ om. S.

¹⁶ a S.

2nd curse :
All friars are
suspended of the office
of preaching, if they
do not
charge those
whom they
shrive to
pay their
tithes.

For¹ elles, marchautes myȝt, by siche smale ȝiftes, ȝeue & dele
al þe wyunnyng of þe ȝere, & so, of þe gretteſt wyunnyng, no
teping paie, & dele to pore men al by smale ȝiftes, & so were
holy chirche y-scorned. Þanne siche freres beþ y-wralled², &
y-snarled in sentence of þe grete curs. Also by þe same 5
decretal, alle freres beþ suspended of þe offyce of prechyng, &
so acursed³ wip-ynne a certeyn terme, 'ȝif þei⁴ wole nouȝt
enforme & charge hem þat beþ yschryue to hem, & make hem
charge her conscience & paye wel her tepingis. As it is
verreilich seide, alle confessours of freres, oper neiȝ alle, beþ 10
wrapped in þis sentence of cursyng; for as it is comynliche
seide, & hit may be preued by hem þat beþ y-schryue to freres,
þat al þat þei⁵ spekþ in þat mater is but wordes wipoute eny
Fol. 8 a effect, & þat is scornynge and nouȝt* makyng of conscience.

They do not
do this, and
thus they
are accursed.

3rd curse,
on religious
men, who
counsel
others to
choose
sepulture
at their
churches.
It is the
common
opinion that
friars thus
do.

For ȝif þei⁶ made conscience to þe menyng of þe lawe, þei⁵ 15
schulde enforme hem þat beþ y-schryue to hem, wher of þei⁶
schulde tepe,⁷ & of þe maner & tyme. And for þei⁸ doþ nouȝt,
y can nouȝt se but þei⁸ beþ acursed. Also by þe same chapitre
alle men of religioun beþ acursed þat counseilþ opere coun-
fortip opere men to bihote, by a vowe oper by oþ, oper by truþe. 20
pliztyng for to chese sepulture at her chirches, oper comfortep
hem þat haueþ y-chose, nouȝt for to chaunge her choys & her
wille; but þe comyn opinioun of lewed men & of clerkes tellip
þat freres doþ so, and herto helpip þe proboble euydens þat was
made for þe confirmacioun of þe secounde resone of⁹ þe firste 25
conclusioun of þe rapier article.

It may also
be proved
that the
ordinary is
more proper
person
for the
parishioner
because he
will not
have sus-
picion that

Also þat þe ordynarie is more siker to þe¹⁰ paryschon, hit is
preued opere wise in þis maner: for þe parischon may skilfulliche
deme þat his ordynarie is a Juge lasse suspect & more skilful
for to enioye¹¹ hym skilful penaunce & profitable for his synnes. 30
For he schal nouȝt suppose noþer haue suspeciou, þat his
ordynarie hereþ¹² his schrifte for couetise of getyng & of wyn-
nyng of bodilich help & socour; for þe ordynaries liflode longeþ

¹ or S.

² I-warled A C.

³ acursed þat A C S.

⁴⁻⁴ om. A C S.

⁵ hey S.

⁶ he A C : a S.

⁷ tipe A C : tuepe S.

⁸ a S.

⁹ om. A.

¹⁰ om. C.

¹¹ eniune A : enioyne C S.

¹² hireþ C : hoyreþ S.

to his offys by lawe of God¹ and of holy chirche. Of freres
 pei² may suppose & wene, þat pei³ dop hit for to haue socour
 & help of⁴ her liflode; for in here appele þat pei⁵ made azenes
 me in Engelond hit is conteyned þat by⁵ her fundacioun, pei
 5 bep⁶ y-bounde to beggerie & to þe heigest pouerte, nouzt wip-
 stondyng þat pei tellip þat þe haueþ powere to here⁷ þe
 schriftes of alle men þat wole be schryue to hem. Þerfore þe
 parischen may skilfulliche suppose & haue suspecioun þat, by-
 cause of⁸ getyng somme releue of her beggerie, pei bep so busy
 10 to here schriftes. Þanne may þe parischon skilfulliche argue
 in his herte, why wolde þis begger sitte & here my schrifte &
 leue his beggyng & getyng of his liflode, but he hope to haue of
 me siche maner help, and nede⁹ driueþ to synne, by þe which
 synne þe nede myzt be releued, as *Proverbiorum* 30^o c^o,
 15 Salomon seip & prayeþ: 'Zeue me noþer beggerie noþer riches,
 but zeue me onliche what¹⁰ is nedeful to my liflode lest y be
 excited to denye & saye who is oure Lorde, & compelled by nede
 for to stele & forswere þe name of my God.' Þanne hit folewip,
 þat for all maner synnes, he wole ioyne¹¹ me almes dede for to
 20 releue his owne beggerie, & so y schal nouzt be cleneliche by-
 quyt of my¹² synnes; þerfore¹³ whanne hise disciples axide of
 oure Lord: 'Why myzt we nouzt cast hym out?' & spake of a
 fende, oure Lord answerde & seide: 'Þese¹⁴ manere fendes bep¹⁵
 nouzt cast out but wip bedes & fastyng,' Math 16^o c^o. Of þis
 25 worde hit is y-take, þat as for euereche diuerse sekenesse of
 body dyuerse medicyns helpip; so for euereche gostlich sekness
 most be ordeyned his propre medicyn. And þis begger þat is
 bisy about his beggerie wole nouzt with-out suspecioun ordeyne
 me siche medicyns for my synnes. Þis resoun is confermed, for
 30 hit semeþ in dede in al þe worlde wide, after þat freres hadde
 gete priuelege for to here schriftes, pei¹⁶ haueþ y-bilde¹⁷ faye

he heareth
 his shrift
 for the
 desire of
 getting
 money and
 goods, as do
 friars.
 In their
 foundation
 they profess
 beggary,
 but they
 create sus-
 picion by
 being so
 busy to hear
 shrifts.

The
 parishoner
 argues that
 the friar
 leaves his
 begging and
 shrives him
 in order to
 get money,
 and thus
 sin—as
 Solomon
 says:
 Proverbs
 30: 8, 9.
 So it follows
 that for all
 manner of
 sins, he will
 require alms
 to relieve his
 beggary, and
 I shall not
 be truly for-
 given of my
 sins,
 as per
 Matt. 17:
 19, 20, 21.

Friars have
 through
 hearing of
 shrifts built
 huge build-
 ings.

¹ Chetham MS. begins with God
 and of holy chirche.

² he C A S Ch.

³ hey S: hy C.

⁴ to A C Ch S.

⁵ om. S.

⁶ hey were S.

⁷ huyre A Ch: hoyre S.

⁸ of here S.

⁹ nedeþ C: neode Ch.

¹⁰ þat C.

¹¹ ioyerne C: June Ch.

¹² myn C.

¹³ wherfore C.

¹⁴ in þis C Ch S.

¹⁵ buþ Ch.

¹⁶ hey S: hy Ch.

¹⁷ I-bulde A C Ch S.

They never
give the
alms they
receive to

Fol. 8 b

repair
parish
churches,
nor high-
ways, nor
bridges, but
give it all to
their own
order,
hence they
give up
begging.

Therefore
he who
leaves the
ordinary
and is
shriven by a
friar, lives
in a deadly
sin, from
which he
cannot be
absolved.
The three
saws of
John de
Polliaco.
The first
article.

The second
article.

The third
article.

mynstres¹ & rial palyces pou² hit were for kynges, & þe cause
þere of semep þe power of heryng of schriftes. For er³ þei
hadde þat⁴ power þei⁵ myzt noon siche bildyngis make. Also
hit is neuer herde þat freres enioyneþ hem þat þei⁵ schryueþ
to 3eue syche almes⁶ to amendment of parische chirches,* noper⁵
of hey³ weyes, noper of broken brigges; noper þe menoures
chargeþ nouzt noper ordeyneþ to 3eue siche almes to⁸ þe prechours,
but al to hem-silf oper to her owne ordre. Þerfore me may
skilfulliche deme þat his owne getyng is cause why siche a
begger is so bisy aboute a straunge man, & forgendriþ his
beggyng tyme & takeþ al his hede to þe straunge man. Also
ich made & here now y make þe fifþe resoun. Þe conclusioun
of þis resoun ich wolde nouzt afferme; but y seide openliche
& zitt⁹ y seye þat y coupe nouzt assoyle þe resoun. Þe con-
clusioun of þat resoun is þis: euereche parischone þat is
y-schryue to freres & leueþ þe ordenaries by þe power þat þei⁵
haueþ, after sich a schrifte, lyueþ in dedliche synne & of no
dedliche synne is assoyled. To preue þis conclusioun in oper
maner ich fondeþ for to preue oon principal.

But for þe constitucioun *Johannina vas electionis*, y graunted
nouzt þat conclusioun. For þerof maister John de Polliaco hys
sawes bep þre articles y-dampned. Þe firste is, þat þei þat bep
y-schryue to freres þat haueþ general leue to here schriftes, bep
y-holde to schryue hem este of þe same synnes to her owne
preste; þe secunde article is þis, þat stondyng þe statute þat
was made in þe general consail, *Omnis vtriusque Sexus*, þe
pope may nouzt make þat parischons bep nouzt y-holde to
schryue hem of alle her synnes ones a 3ere to her owne preste,
þat þei¹⁰ clepiþ þe curatour of þe parische,¹¹ noper God myzt
do þat, as he seide, for hit closiþ contradiccioun & wipsaiyng
wip-ynne hit silf; þe þridde article is þis, þe pope may nouzt
3eue leue to here schriftes noper God him-silf. But he þat is
y-schryue to hym þat haþ general leue to here schriftes is zitt
y-holde to schryue hym of þe synnes to his owne prest, þat is
þe curatour of þe parische,¹¹ as it is seide toforehond. Þe

¹ monasters A Ch S: monas-
teries C.

² þei A C S: þey³ Ch.

³ or A C.

⁴ suche C.

⁵ hey S: hy Ch.

⁶ almes dede Ch.

⁷ hiþe A C S: hy³ Ch.

⁸ om. C.

⁹ 3ut S Ch.

¹⁰ he A C: a S Ch.

¹¹⁻¹¹ om. C.

- principle is þis: hit may stonde to-gidres wipout eny wipsaiyng
 þat what parischon hit be þat is yschryue to freres, ¹ þe same
 parischon is y-holde by heste of holy chirche to schryue hym of
 alle his synnes ¹ ones a 3ere ² to his owne prest, þat is his
 5 curatour & his ordinarie. First y preued hit in þis maner:
 for hit semeþ nomore wipseyyng þat he, þat is y-schryue to
 freres ³ ones a 3ere, is y-holde ³ to be schryue to his owne preste
 of alle his ⁴ dedliche synnes in þat, þat schrifte may be rehersed
 in þe same, þanne hit dop for to offre ones, twies, oper þryes
 10 in ⁵ parische chirche, þouȝ ⁶ he offre elles where; for eiper dede
 is medeful & may be ofte y-do. Þese laste tweyne wipsiggeþ nouȝt
 eiper oper. ⁷ Þanne noþer þe firste tweyne wipsiggeþ eiper oper ⁷.
 No man douteþ her-of þat euerech dede þat may ofte be do, of ⁸
 dyuerse persons oper of þe same for dyuerse places & tyme, may
 15 stonde wip-out wipsigginge, as þus hit may wel stonde þat
 a man hereþ oon masse oper meny atte freres, & also atte
 parische, namelich ones in a moneþe, & nameliche while eiper
 dede is medeful and plesyng to God, and so is schrifte wip-out ⁹
 eny drede. Alle doctors acordeþ þat þe dede of schrifte may
 20 be do medefullich ofte touchyng þe schewyng of synne &
 fongyng of penaunce. And we alle ofte dop so & trowip to
 plesse God ofte in þat doying, and hit is as ¹⁰ certeyn þat siche
 medeful dedes may falle vnder comaundement and heeste, ¹¹ as
 y schewide toforhond in þe bygynnyng of þe raper article.
 25 þanne it may be vnder comaundment & heste ¹¹, þat he þat is
 y-schryue ¹¹ to a frere be efte y-schryue ¹¹ of þe same synnes to
 his owne prest and * his ordinarie. Also þe ferþe Pope Martyn Fol. 9 a
 graunted frere menours leue for ¹² to here schriftes; & in þe
 ende of þat priuylege he seiþ in þis maner: 'We wollep þat þei
 30 þat bep y-schryue to freres be y-holde to be schryue of þe same
 synnes to her ¹³ parische preste, namelich, ones a 3ere as it is
 ordeyned by þe general counseil; & ¹⁴ þat þe same freres as

The princi-
 ple is this:
 he that is
 shriuen
 by a friar,
 is held by
 holy church
 to shriue
 himself
 once a year
 to his priest.

It is a good
 thing for a
 man to
 rehearse his
 sins often,
 as it is good
 to do often
 other help-
 ful deeds,

just as the
 heeding of
 mass often
 is a good
 thing.

The doing
 of shrift
 may take
 place often.

Pope Martin
 granted
 friars leave
 to hear
 shrifts, but

¹⁻¹ om. C.

² a 3ere is I holde to be schreue C.

³⁻³ ys yholde ones a 3er Ch.

⁴ om. C.

⁵ in a A C; in his S.

⁶ þeiȝh A C; þey S; þeyȝ Ch.

⁷⁻⁷ om. C.

⁸ by C.

⁹ wip A.

¹⁰ a A C.

¹¹⁻¹¹ om. C.

¹² om. S.

¹³ his owne preost A C.

¹⁴ and written twice in C.

those who
are thus
shriven
must go to
their parish
priest once a
year.

But friars
read the
opposite
meaning in
the decree
and so do
damage to
themselves
and to other
men.

This con-
stitution
should be at
once de-
clared.

Pope Bene-
dict XI
commands
friars that
they shall
charge them
whom they
shrive, to be
shriven
again to
their priest.

God ȝeueþ hem *grace* schal bisiliche counseile and charge hem þat þei schryueþ, to schryue hem eftē of þe same synnes to her owne prest'. & so þis pope comaundeþ & hoteþ¹ openliche þat nouȝtwipstonding þe schrifte þat is schewed to freres, he þat is y-schryue to freres is y-holde eftē to schryue him of þe same synnes to his parische prest by þe statute of þe general consayl. But hit semeþ þat þis constitucioun *Johannina vas electionis* is contrarie² hereto, by þe menyng² þat³ freres takip of þat constitucioun, and so þei enformeþ þe peple openlich, & so dop damage to hem-silf and to opere men also.

ȝif pope Martyns maundment be ferme & stable, as hit semeþ by þe forseide resons, perfore holy fader þat no sich damage be among Cristen men, ordeyneþ for Cristes loue þat þis constitucioun be swiflich declared. Me semeþ þat hit myȝt be þus vnderstonden, and so ich vnderstonde hit¹⁰ þat no man þat is y-schryue to freres⁴ for defaute of power to assoile in freres⁴, is y-holde to schryue hym of þe same synnes to his owne prest; & hit semeþ þat mayster Joon de Polliaco menede þe contrarie herof. Also hit semeþ grete wonder with what face freres dar⁵ telle þat hit may nouȝt¹⁵ stonde, þat a man is y-schryue to freres & is y-holde to schryue hym of þe same synnes to his owne prest, while þei haueþ in here owne rule, as it is comynliche seide, þat euer ech man þat takip her ordre in his entringe oper in his professioun, he schal schryue hym to oon of hem of alle his synnes, nouȝt-²⁰ wipstonding þat he is y-schryue to-forhond of þe same synnes. Þanne hit is wonder why þei denyþ þat we mowe so do⁶, while þei hem-silf dop so. Also þe XI pope Benet in *constitucione sua re notoria constitutus bononsus*⁷ *super cathedram*. Þat constitucioun bigynneþ, ȝif ich haue perof fulle mynde in þis maner, ȝo²⁵ *ad perpetuam*. Þere he comaundeþ freres, þat þei schulleþ charge hem þat þei schryueþ, to schryue hem eftē of þe same synnes to her⁸ prest & her ordinarie. Þanne hit semeþ þat he meneþ þat, nouȝtwipstonding þe oon schrifte, ȝett þe oper

¹ hoteþ & comaundeþ S.

²⁻² by þe menyng hereto A C.

³ þat þe C.

⁴⁻⁴ om. C.

⁵ durre A C: þere S: þurre Ch.

⁶ doo soo C.

⁷ Lat. Bonifacii.

⁸ her owne A C Ch S.

- schrifte is dewe¹. For ȝif þei mowe stonde togidres, þe² oon may be fonge & þe² oþer frelich abide as me semeþ, by³ resouns þat beþ made. Also Seynt Austyn *de vera & falsa penitencia*, & Seint Thomas Bonauenture, & holy doctors, & expositors 5 affermeþ ofte þat it is spedeful to be ofte y-schryue of þe same synnes. Y can nouȝt se þanne why hit myȝt nouȝt be y-hote by þe lawe, forto make þe peple haue þe more mede, as a prelate myȝt holilich hote þat euerech Cristen man schulde here twey masses euereche Sonday. Now þis principle is þus skilfullich 10 y-preued, hit semeþ þat me myȝt conclude a ful hardere⁴ conclusioun, þat is þis : euerech parischon þat leueþ⁵ al þe⁶ ȝere his ordynarie, þat is his parisch curatour, & schryueþ hym to a frere, trespaseþ aȝenes þe heeste of holy chirche, in þat⁶ decretal *Omnis utriusque Sexus*. & þanne it folewiþ þat þei 15 comeþ from þe frere wiþ dedlich synne, & God forȝeueþ nouȝt oon⁷ dedlich synne * but he⁸ forȝeue alle dedlich synnes. Þanne folewiþ a more meschef þat he þat is so y-schryue to a frere, comeþ from þe frere wiþ alle þe⁹ dedlich synnes þat he had wiþ hym whanne he wente to þe frere ; & what doying is¹⁰ wors þan 20 þis myȝt be suffred in holy chirche. Trulich, holy fader, y couþe neuer, noþer ȝit can assoile þis resoune.
- Perfore at Londoun y prayed þese freres openlich, þat þei wolde wiþ worde oþer¹¹ writynge enforme me how y myȝt assoile þis resoun, but þat myȝt ich nouȝt gete of hem ȝit to þis day. 25 Þanne me semeþ, by þese forseide resons, þat þe ordynarie is more siker for his parischon to schryue hym syngulerliche to oon persoon þan is eny frere ; and here vppon, holy fader, 'demeþ nouȝt by þe face but riȝtful dome ȝe deme'. Y seide and eftē y seye, þat þe ordynarie is more¹² profitable for þe 30 schrift of his parischon þan is eny frere¹². For þe ordynarie is ordeyned by þe¹³ lawe of God & holy chirche & by heste for to

It is affirmed by others that it is speedful to be shriven often of the same sins.

From this I will state a harder conclusion, that he who leaves all the year his priest trespasses

Fol. 9 b

against the command of holy church, which is a deadly sin. Then it follows that he who comes from a friar, comes with all the deadly sins that he had with him when he went to the friar.

The ordinary is the more profitable for the schrift of a parishioner than is a friar,

¹ þewe S Ch.

² þat A C.

³ by þe A C Ch S.

⁴ hard C Ch S.

⁵⁻⁶ ech S.

⁶ þe A C.

⁷ in S ; e Ch.

⁸ om. S ; a Ch.

⁹ om. C.

¹⁰ om. S.

¹¹ oþer wiþ C Ch.

¹²⁻¹³ siker for his parischon þan is eny frere A : siker for his parischoun to schryue hym singulerliche þan anv frere C.

¹³ om. Ch S.

because the parish priest is appointed by God and the Church and the friar has only the grant and leave of the pope.

The ordinary is more bound to his parishioner than is a friar, who is a stranger.

This is true especially in the time of sickness, for the ordinary knows his

do þat dede ; þe frere haþ no leue þerto but by graunt & leue of þe pope, & hit is no doute as hit semeþ þat no man haþ mede to do þat þinge þat he may nouzt do but onlich by leue, & euerech þat holdeþ þe heeste of God & of holy Chirche haþ mede. Þanne it sueþ¹ by þe comyn cours, þat euereche parischon 5 may more sikerliche schryue hym to his owne curatour þan to ony frere ; but y graunt þat þe contrarie myzt happe, yn caas & þat but ful selde, as 3if þe ordinarie were suspect to his parischon for somme certeyn cause. Also as hit is seide in þe raper article : he þat schryueþ hym to his ordinarie haþ mede 10 of double obedience, for he² is obedient in þat he² schryueþ hym, & also in³ þat he² schryueþ hym to his ordynarie, þat is his curatour ; and he² leseþ oon of þese medes whanne he² schryueþ hym to a frere, for hit is nouzt⁴ y-hote noþer y-counceiled þat he² schulde schryue hym to a frere ; þanne hit 15 is more profitabil to schryue hym to his curatour. Also þe ordinarie is more y-bounde to his parischon þan a frere ; & as me schal suppose by þe comyn cours, he² schal for loue be þe more bisye to ordeyne hym profitable medicyn for his soule þan wolde eny frere, þat is a straunge persone ; ⁵ þanne hereby hit 20 semeþ þat þe schrifte is more profitable. Also by þe laste conclusioun þe ordinarie is þe more siker persone ; þanne he is þe more profitable persone.⁵ Also Innocencius c^o & si animarum⁶, assigneþ oon cause for þis conclusioun, þat hit is better be⁷ schryue to þe curatour þanne to a straunge man, & concludeþ 25 þat hit is more profitable be⁸ y-schryue to þe curatour þan to a straunger⁹ ; & þis cause holdeþ manliche¹⁰ in tyme of sekenesse by¹¹ nyzt, whan þe seke man may nouzt come to þe frere noþer þe frere to þe seke man by¹¹ nyzt. For þanne, nouztwipstondinge 30 þe schrifte þat is made toforhond, þe parischon most schryue hym to his ordinarie ; þanne hit were wel spedeful þat þe ordynarie knew his raper lif ; for þanne he myzt enioyne¹² hym

¹ seweþ A C S : syweþ Ch.

² a Ch S.

³ om. A C.

⁴ noþer S.

⁵⁻⁸ om. C.

⁶ Lat. Item Innocentius in cap. illo et si animarum.

⁷ to be S.

⁸ to be C.

⁹ straunge man A C S.

¹⁰ nameliche S.

¹¹ be C.

¹² eniune Ch.

þe more couenable penaunce. For hit is knowen¹ þe ofter a man hap forȝeuenesse of his synne, & þe gretter þe synnes beþ early life, and so can give him a better penance.
 þat he hap forȝeuenesse of², þe gretter is þe synne þat he dop afterward. Þanne how may þe ordinarie þat is curatour sette
 5 his parischon couenable penaunce, ȝif he knowiþ nouȝt his olde synnes, oþer namlich so couenable as he schulde ȝif he knewe his olde lif. ³ Y se nouȝt how he schuld do so couenablich* as he schuld ȝif he knewe his olde lif³. Þanne for sicke poyntes
 hit were more profit be y-schryue to þe curatour þan to eny
 10 frere. Also Innocencius telliþ an oþer cause, for a man is more schamfast to schryue hym to his ordinarie þan to eny frere, for a man is more schamfast to schewe his synnes to hym þat he seep⁴ al day þan to hym þat he seep⁴ but ones a ȝere. Also
 hit is spedeful to a wedded man þat oon man here his schrifte
 15 & his wyfes also; so her schrifte fader as a singuler leche of twey lymes⁵ of oon body may more profitablich ordeyne salue to hem þat beep gostlich seke. As in bodilich sekenes oon leche may better heele twey lymes, þan oon leche hele oon lyme & an oþer
 leche an oþer lyme of þe same body; for þe husbond & þe wyf
 20 beep tweyne in oon flesche.⁶ Mathei 19^o c^o. Here-by hit semep clere y-nowȝ þat þe ordinarie is more profitable for þe schrifte of his parischons þan is eny frere. Here-vpon holy fader,
 'demeþ nouȝt by þe face but riȝtful dome ȝe deme'.
 Þe pridde þat y seide & seye is, þat schrifte y-schewide to þe
 25 ordinarie syngulerliche as y seide, voideþ mo damages þan dop schrifte þat is schewide to eny frere. Þere y began to sprede þe mater & to schewe þat þe priuyleges, þat semep y-graunted to freres in þe chapitre *dudum*, beþ causes⁷ of many grete
 damages; þanne þe kepyng of þe comyn lawe in þe mater of
 30 priuyleges schulde voide many damages. Þanne y seye þat nouȝt onliche þe mysuse of pese⁸ priuyleges, but also þe holding of pese⁸ priuyleges by freres, dop many damages to hem þat beþ y-schryue, & also to þe clergie, to⁹ Cristen peple, & to þe freres. Y say þat, for freres mysuseþ pese⁸ priuyleges, hit dop

 A man is more ashamed to shrive him to his ordinary than to any friar. It is also better if one man shrive a man and his wife, as in sickness, it is better for one doctor to heal two limbs, than it is for one doctor to heal one limb and another doctor another limb. Matt. 19: . There are less damages when one is shriven to an ordinary than to a friar. Damages to those who are shriven, to the clergy, to Christian people, and to the friars.

¹ y-knowe þat S.² om. A C Ch.³⁻⁵ om. A C.⁴ sykþ Ch.⁵ lemes C.⁶ vleisch Ch.⁷ cause A C Ch S.⁸ pues S.⁹ of C.

The three
damages.

It is harmful
damage to
withhold
offerings
and to
withdraw
tithings.

Tithings to
be paid to
parish
churches.

Friars take
over offer-
ings for
their own
use. These
offerings are
due to holy
church.

Fol. 10 b

Tithings are
ordained to
priests for
their liveli-
hood.
Numbers
18: 8, 9.

many damages to hem þat bep y-schryue; þerfore he schulde be y-holde vnsuffrable. Also by¹ þe ferþe² Innocentius wordes, opere damages comeþ of þese priuyleges, & seiþ we takip hede þat of þe mystakinge of þese priuyleges comeþ nouȝt onlich dispisingis & slakinge of deuocioun in þe peple azenes her owne³ prestes, but also schamfastnesse is bynome, þat is þe grettest partye of penaunce, while a man schewip nouȝt his synnes³ to his synnes³, to his owne preste þat is⁴ present wip hym al wey,⁵ but to⁶ a straunge man, oper a lond leper to whom hit is harde for to come, oper impossible. Lo! twey damages, oper pre, þat 10 men haueþ, dispisyng of her owne prest, slakinge of deuocioun, & bynmyng of schamfastnesse, þat is þe grettest party of penaunce, as he seiþ. Þese damages comeþ of schrifte y-schewide to þe freres. And anon hit folewip in þis maner: hit is harmful damage of wip-holdyng of offryng & perylous of wipdrawyng of 15 tepingis⁷ þat passeþ nouȝt as cerymonyes of Jewes, as Iyers tellip⁸; but tepingis bep reserued and dewe⁹ to hym¹⁰ of whom we songeþ al þat we haueþ; & so tepingis bep dewe¹¹ to him in token of his lordschip & schal be payed to parysche chirches; þis is y-write þer. He reherseþ twey oper damages: wiphold- 20 inge of offryngis þat men þat bep y-schryue vseþ for to paye hem þat herip her schrifte; and freres appropriþ sicke offryngis to her owne vse; & by¹² þe¹³ lawe sicke offryngis bep dewe¹¹ to parische chirches; & hit is damage to freres & worpi to be dampned wipholdinge of tepingis þat parischous tellip of freres 25 & is double damage to curatours; for tepingis bep ordeyned^{*} to hem for her liflode, & by cause of þese priuyleges, þei bep wipdrawe by freres. Numeri 18^o c^o hit is writen: 'What is halewede of þe children of Israel ich haue betake hit to þe & to þi sones for þe office of prest, lawful wipouten ende.' Also þere 30 hit is writen: 'Al offring and sacrifice & al þat is y-ȝolde to¹⁴ me for trespase & for synne &¹⁵ þat longeþ to þe holy place, þou schalt haue hit & þi sones.'

¹ om. C.

² veurþe Ch.

³⁻⁵ om. A C Ch S.

⁴ is alwey S.

⁵ om. S.

⁶ om. C.

⁷ tweþinges S.

⁸ tellen C.

⁹ þuwe Ch: þewe S.

¹⁰ hym in tokene of his lordschippe C.

¹¹ þewe Ch S.

¹² be C.

¹³ om. C.

¹⁴ om. C.

¹⁵ om. S.

Also by vse of þese priuyleges, curatours haueþ anoper vnkynde damage, þat þei knowiþ nouȝt þe face of her owne bestes and þei haueþ y-fonge of her bischop cure of þe same bestes, & þat were grete damage¹ in oon þat hadde bodilich cure of bestes. Also hit is grete damage to curatours to be dispised of her parischons, and as *Innocencius* seiþ toforhond : such dispisyng is in þe peple for parischons beþ schryue to freres. Curatours haueþ anoper grete damage by cause of mysuse of priuyleges, þat freres haueþ touchyng þe þre quarters of alle profites, þat falliþ to² hem oþer wise of biquyst oþer of zifte, distinctliche, oþer indistinctliche, & al maner mysuse þat þei vseþ of þat, is conteyned in þe chapitre *dudum* ; and touchyng þe ferþe part þat is I-graunted to curatours & y-taxed þere, þe whiche ferþe part of many biquystes, offryngis, & ziftes, freres payeþ nouȝt to curatours, but freres appropriþ hit to hem-silf wiþ many cautels and wyles as curatours telliþ ; so þat bitwene hem & freres as it were in euereche place among Cristen men is ple & strif wiþoute ende. So þat in many placis charite is fer, & after wordes comeþ strokes.

Also curatours haueþ damage of mysuse of anoper priuylege þat freres haueþ, for freres haueþ twey conseruatours & wollep nouȝt plede wiþ curatours noper wiþ oþer þat haueþ catel tofore þe next conseruatours,³ & makeþ hem so somned in-to fer cuntreys. So þat for drede of trauail & cost, he appeleþ from þe sentence of þe cause, and in my⁴ prouynce haueþ ful ofte, as⁵ somme telliþ þat beþ myzty in þis court, and þerof is comyn fame. Curatours haueþ þese damages & many oþere by cause of mys-vsyng of priuyleges þat beþ graunted to freres⁶.

Y preue hit, for by occasioun of priuyleges þat beþ graunted to freres for to here schriftes, children in general studyes & in her fader hous beþ homliche & priuy wiþ freres ; for in þe fader hous freres beþ priuy by cause of heryng of⁷ schriftes, & children beþ y-schryue to freres, & freres begileþ hem wiþ smale ziftes & gileful, & makeþ hem come in-to her ordre, for

¹ damage to curatoures C.² to freres bycause of sepulture & of alle profiztes þat falleþ to S.³ conseruatour but to ferreste conseruatour S.⁴ myn C.⁵ and C.⁶ freres for to here schriftes C.⁷ om. C.

Another damage to curates is that they do not know the face of their own beasts.

Another damage to curates is the misuse that friars make of the three-quarters of all the profits that falleth to them either of bequest or of gifts.

Another damage, Friars have two conseruators, and summon men before the more distant.

Friars become privy in homes because they hear shrifts, and so they beguile the children with small

giffs, and
thus induce
them to
enter the
order, and
thus steal
them.

Children not
allowed to
speak with
their father
or mother.
A case to
show this.

Holy Writ
forbids

Fol. 11a

stealing a
man.
Exodus
21:16.

Why are
they not
punished,
for this
stealing of
children,
when men
are punished
for a lesser
offence for
stealing an
ox or a
sheep?

Against
lying.

Romans 3:8.

Saint Austin
writes
against
lying.

freres mowe nouzt so begyle olde men. And as þe comyn fame
telliþ, after þat children ben¹ bigiled in-to her ordre, þe children
haueþ no fredome for to wende out, but beþ holden wip hem
aʒenus her owne wille forto þei be professed in þe ordre². & ʒett
more me seiþ, þat in þe mene tyme, þe children beþ nouzt³ 5
suffred to speke wip fader noþer wip modir, but³ vnder keping³
and drede of freres. In euydence herof, pis day as ich come
out of myn Inne, come⁴ to me a good man of Englonð þat is
comen to pis court for socour and remedye; and he tolde me
þat anoon after Ester,⁵ þat last was at Oxenford, freres by- 10
name hym his sone þat was nouzt xiii ʒere olde, & he came
pider to speke wip his sone &⁶ moste nouzt speke wip his sone,
but vnder warde & keping of freres. & Holy Writ biddiþ,
þat⁷ who þat⁸ stelip a man & sillip him, & is I-*preued vpon
hym þat trespas, he⁹ schal dye. Exodi 21^o c^o. Why haueþ 15
þei not pis peyne oþer an oþer lawful peyne? Hit semeþ me
nouzt riȝtful þat þei beþ vnpunysched. By þe lawe a man schal
be punysched for þe stelyng of an ox oþer of¹⁰ a sheep. For
more greuou þesþe¹¹ & greuyng of his emcristen by a more
greuous trespas, euerech þat so dop schulde be more greuoulich 20
punysched; & siche þesþe¹¹ and trespas is siche stelyng of
children wipþne þe¹² ʒeres of discrecioun while þei beþ vnder
fader & modir keping; & freres mowe nouzt sopliche saye þat
children beþ brouzt þere to serue God wip þe more deuocioun,
& þerfore it is lawful to bygile hem wip fraude & lesyngis & 25
wip fals byheestes. Pis may nouzt stonde, for hit is contrarie
to þe¹³ apostles decre: 'Do we nouzt, as we beþ dispised &
yscoined & as som men telleþ þat we seyn, do we euel þat
good may bifalle; her dampnacioun is riȝtful,' ad Romanos
3^o c^o. & wolde God þat þei syȝe inwardlych Seynt Austyns 30
bokes of lesyng & aʒenes lesyng, in þe whiche bokes he declareþ
clerelich, þat me schuld make no lesyng noþer for to avoyde &
ascape¹⁴ harme, what harm hit euere were, noþer for to wynne

¹ beþ A C S: buþ Ch.

² here owne ordere S.

³⁻⁵ vnkeynge C.

⁴ þere come A C.

⁵ Esterne A C.

⁶ & he C.

⁷ om. S.

⁸ so A-C.

⁹ a Ch.

¹⁰ om. S.

¹¹ þesþe A C S: þuyfþe Ch.

¹² om. S.

¹³ om. Ch.

¹⁴ skape A C Ch S.

gode oper¹ profijt, noþer for to saue a manes soule noþer his life; and so hit semeþ of² alle oper synnes. & ³ among oper, Seynt Austyn schewiþ oon feire reson & seiþ in pis maner: ' ȝif me myȝt somtyme lawfulliche lye & make a lesyng for somne manere cause, þanne al þe loore of hooly⁴ chirche were loost; for þanne he þat prechiþ openliche þe seiþ of holy chirche, myȝt lawfulliche lye, while he prechiþ þe seiþ for sich a maner cause, while he techiþ þe seiþ and prechiþ þe peple.' Þanne men þat hereþ hym preche myȝt argue in her⁵ herte in þis maner: by his owne loore þis⁶ may lawfulliche lye & make lesyngis lawfulliche in many maner⁷ caas⁸; y noot noþer may wite wheþer he haue sich a cause now oper no; þanne y schal noȝt trowe hym while he precheþ & techiþ. Þanne Seynt Austyn concludiþ & seiþ: ' To þe riȝtful manes office in noon wise⁹ to telle willfulliche a lesyng.' Also þat is þe¹⁰ comaundement & heeste of þe newe lawe as it is writen, Mathei 10^o c^o: ' Me axide of youre Lord, what schal y do for to haue lif wiþouten ende?', & oure Lord answerde and seide: ' þou knowest þe heestes, þou schalt do no spouse-bruch, noþer sle, noþer stele, noþer bere fals witnesse, noþer do fraude noþer gile, worschip pi fader & pi moder, & so forþ.' A man may nouȝt lawfullich breke Goodes heeste for eny cause þat he hym-silf wole fynde, as hit soplich semeþ. For by cause þerof Saul was cast out of þe kyngdom, for God had y-hote hym þat he schulde distruye al þe catel & riches of þe Amalachites, & he dide þe contrarie & kepte þe best¹¹ beestes for he wolde offre hem to God. & Samuel þe prophete answerde hym & seide: ' Obediens is better þan sacrifice & do as God hoten is better þan offre fatnesse of weperes.' For hit is as hit were þe synne of sorcery & of wiccheecrafte to wiþstonde, as hit were þe synne of mawmetre¹² to be nouȝt buxom to Goddes heste. po¹³ regum 19^o c^o. Also Osa put his hond to Goddes schryne¹⁴ so þat he was in poynt

He condemns lying even though good may come.

No such thing as lawful lying, so says St. Austin.

Also the commandment of the new law. Mark 10:17-19. Matt 19:16-19.

A man may not break God's command. This is seen in the case of Saul, who disobeyed God.

I Samuel 15:22.

It is a sin of sorcery and witchcraft.

I Samuel 15.

¹ ne A C.

² om. A.

³ om. C.

⁴ al holy S.

⁵ om. C.

⁶ þese A C Ch S.

⁷ maneres C.

⁸ om. C.

⁹ it longeþ in no wise S.

¹⁰ om. A.

¹¹ om. S.

¹² mawmetrie A C Ch S.

¹³ primo C.

¹⁴ & hield it vp for þe oxene hadde ystarteled & ouer cast þe schryne S.

God's wrath
to King Osa
for touching
the shrine,
11 Samuel
6: 6, 7.

1 Kings
13: 11-25.

Fol. 11 b

These things
prove that
friars do
deadly sin
in stealing
children
from their
parents.
Not only is
this the sin
of theft, but
also of fraud
and guile.
Paul
admonishes
against
a man
beguiling his
brother.
1 Thess. 4: 6.
Great
damage to
the people
and the
clergy,
as is seen in
the Univer-
sities, where
parents
refuse to
send their
children,
because of
the influence
of the friars.
In my time
the Univer-
sity of
Oxford had
its student
body re-
duced from
30,000 to
6,000.

to¹ falle; and God was wroope wip Osa & smote hym for his foly & so Osa was ded. 2^o regum 6^o 2 c^o. Also oure Lordes prophete pat was sent out of Juda into Bethel & was y-hote pat he schulde no^{per} ete ne drynke in pat place, but anoper prophete pat was pere counseiled & prayed hym pat he schulde ete & 5 drynke, & he seide how God had y-hote. ' & ich am a prophete ' quop³ pat⁴ oper, ' as pou art ', & he⁵ eet & dranke & was slayn of a lyoun as he went * pennes, as it is writen. 4^o regum 13^o c^o.

Pese & oper siche⁶ preueþ pat freres dop dedlich synne in⁷ sich stelyng of children from her fadres & modres. And⁸ it⁹ semep¹⁰ pat pei synnep¹⁰ dedliche nouzt onlich in þefþe, but also in fraude & gyle; for þe forseide auctorite seiþ, pat hit is y-hote: ' pou schalt do no^{per}¹¹ fraude ne gile,¹² no^{per} sle no^{per} stele,¹² no^{per} bere fals wittnesse.' & azenus þe whiche heestes freres dop as hit semep, whanne pei tollep to hem children wip fraude & wip¹⁵ gile; & Paul þe apostle hoteþ, pat no man schuld ouer passe no^{per} begile his broþer, for oure Lord is wrecheful in alle siche dedes, ad Thessalonincences 4^o c^o. Here of comep grete damage bope to þe peple & to þe clergie; also to þe peple, for many men what pei louep¹³ best in þis¹³ worlde, pat is her owne children.²⁰

Also hit is grete damage to þe clergie; for now in þe Vniuersitees of þe rewme of Englonde, for children bep so y-stole from her fadres & modres, lewed men in euereche place wipholdep her children & sendep hem nouzt to þe Vniuersite, for hem is leuer make¹⁴ hem eerpe tilyers & haue hem þan sende²⁵ hem to þe Vniuersite & lese¹⁵ hem. So pat zet in my tyme in þe Vniuersite of Oxenford were pritty pousand scolers at ones,¹⁶ & now ben vnneþe¹⁶ sixe pousand. And me trowip pat þe grettest occasioun & cause why scolers bep so¹⁷ wipdrawe, hit is for children bep so¹⁷ bigiled & y-stole; & y se noon¹⁸ gretter³⁰ damage to al þe clergie, þan is þis damage.

¹ for to A C Ch S.

² 8^o S.

³ seyde S.

⁴ þis A C: þe Ch S.

⁵ om. C.

⁶ suche opere A C.

⁷ & C.

⁸ þan A C.

⁹ om. A C Ch S.

¹⁰ synnep Ch.

¹¹ no C.

¹²⁻¹² no^{per} stele ne slee C.

¹²⁻¹³ yn best yn þis Ch.

¹⁴ to make C.

¹⁵ leuse Ch: luese S.

¹⁶⁻¹⁶ and vnneþe now bep S.

¹⁷⁻¹⁷ om. C.

¹⁸ No A C S.

Also þere is more ¹ grete damage þat vndop & distruyep þe ² seculers of al maner faculte. For þese ordres of beggers for endeles wynnynge³ þat þei getep by beggyng of þe forseide priueleges of schriftes and sepultures & oper, þei bep now so
 5 multiplyed in couentes and in persons, þat many men tellip þat in general studies vnneþe is y-founde to sillyng a profitable book of þe faculte of art or of dyuynyte, of lawe canoun, of phisik, oper of lawe ciuil, but alle bookes bep y-bouzt of freres. So
 þat in euerech couent of freres is a noble librarie and a grete;
 10 and so þat euerech frere þat hap state in scole sicke as þei bep now, hap an huge ⁴ librarie. And also y sent of my sugettes to scole þre oper foure persones; & hit is seide me þat somme of hem bep come home aȝen for þei myzt nouzt fynde ⁵ to selle ⁶ and also the
 oon good Bible noþer oper couenable bookes. Ȝif þis be nouzt
 15 grete damage in þe clergie, ⁶ no damage, ⁶ no damage may be perinne. For hit semeþ þat ⁷ herof schulde come sicke an ende þat no clergie schulde leue in holy chirche, but oonlich in freres; & so þe feip of holy chirche were loste but oonlich in
 þe ⁸ freres. & so hit semeþ þat hit were myche better þat pre-
 20 lates leste al to hem þan þat þei distruye al holy chirche þat þei ⁹ bep now so about ⁹ for to wyne.

Ich wondre & nouzt onlich wondre, but ich am astonyed also why & by what maner hardynesse sicke men praiseþ hem-silf in kunnyng aboue alle men, & aȝenus þe ¹⁰ resoun of philosophie &
 25 loore of Holy Writ,¹¹ in sicke a maner wip-oute ¹² ende. Þe philosofer in his secunde book *de anima* seiþ þat þe worst þat is in kynde is passyng resoun of gretenesse & of encrelinge. Þanne it solewip þat þei holdip nouzt þe lawe of kynde but forsakip hit, for þei wexip grete & encresip wip-oute eny ende.
 30 Also Holy Writ techip vs, *Sapiencie xi cº*, þat God made & ordeyned al in mesure, noumbre, & wȝt. But sich multiplicacioun y-founded vppon beggyng & beggerye, as freres telleþ. may nouzt* ordeyne a certeyn noumbre of persones þat þei

Another damage is that the friars buy up all the useful books for their libraries,

and also the Bibles.

Thus it may come to pass that no learning remains in the church except among the triars.

These men against Philosophy praise themselves in cunning.

Also against Holy Writ which says God ordained all in measure, number and wit. Proverbs 11:1.

Fol. 12 a

¹ another A C Ch S.

² þe lore of S.

³ wynnynge A C.

⁴ hoyge.

⁵⁻⁶ om. C.

⁶⁻⁶ om. C S.

⁷ om. C.

⁸ om. C Ch S.

⁹⁻⁹ beþ so aboute now A C : beþ

so now aboute S.

¹⁰ om. S.

¹¹ chirche C.

¹² oute an C.

Friars have
no steadfast
place.

schulde fynde, noþer þei mowe¹ of certein oon person fynde. And beggers haueþ no wiȝt, þat² is a stidefast place, noþer mowe ordeyne for hem-silf a stidefast place, for verrey beggers euereche day³ oper as hit were euerech day,³ beþ compelled to wende out of her place for nede. Also siȝhe mowe nouȝt ordeyne 5 mesure in persones, ³ & in Goddes seruise most be certeyn noumbre of persons,³ but beggers compelled by nede most leue þe seruise & go abegged ofte tyme.

Friars beg
from all
classes, not
as poor men,
not as
St. Francis
taught.

Þanne hit folewiþ þat þese⁴ of þe ordres of beggers multepliþ hem in þis maner aȝenus þe⁵ ordenaunce of God Almyȝtyes 10 witt & his³ wisdom, and bynymeþ þerby þe fleece⁶ of þe peple & of þe clergie, & chargiþ hem in euerech place. For now vnneþe may any grete men oper smaal, lewed or lered, take a morsel⁷ of mete, but siȝhe beggers come vnbede, & begge nouȝt as pore men schuld atteȝate oper atte dore, axing almés mekelich 15 as Fraunces taugt and hoteþ in his testament, but þei comeþ into houses⁸ & courtes & beþ y-harberwide & etip & drynkeþ what þei þer fyndeþ vnbede and vnprayed. & noþeles þei bereþ wiþ hem corn, oper⁹ mele, brede,⁹ flesche oper chese, pouȝ¹⁰ þere be but tweyne in þe hous þei bereþ¹¹ wiþ hem¹¹ þat oon. & 20 no man may hem werne but þei put of al kyndeliche schame.

They dread
not the sen-
tence of
Pope
Gregory.

And it is wonder þat þei dredip nouȝt þe sentence of Pope Gregory þat writeth in a comyn priuelege to prelates of holy chirche in þis maner: 'For ofte vices of priuy riches entreþ, & Sathanas his angel degiseþ hym in þe liknesse of an angel of 25 liȝt. By þis present auctorite we comaundeþ & hoteþ þat ȝif eny þat tellip þat þei beþ of þe ordre of frere prechours, precheþ in ȝowre contrayes & turneþ hem to begging of money, wharby þe ordre of hem þat haueþ made professioun to pouert myȝt be diffamed, take ȝe hem as fals faytours & dampneþ hem.' Þei 30 beþ now so sotyl in þis crafte of beggerie þat pore vikers & persons & al þe peple pleyneþ þerof, neiz in euerech place. Þis semeth a wonder maner lyuyng in hem þat seyn, þat þei mot holde þe gospel by her professioun & doþ aȝenus Cristes owne

They are
false and
should be
damned that
thus beg.

¹ om. C.

² þat þat C.

³⁻⁵ om. C.

⁴ þues Ch S.

⁵ manner of þe C.

⁶ vluyz Ch S.

⁷ mossel A Ch.

⁸ hous.

⁹ & C.

¹⁰ þei A C S: þeyz Ch.

¹¹⁻¹¹ away C.

sentence þat sente his disciples to preche þe gospel, & seide: They do
 'Passe 3e nouzt from hous to hous.' Luce 10^o c^o. Also þei dop contrary to Christ's gospel, Luke 10:6.
 azenus anoper scripture þat seiþ: 'Voide & war þat þou be nouzt
 herberwed from hous to hous.' Ecclesiastici 29^o c^o. Bot þei goþ Ecclesiasticus 29:24.
 5 so about from court to court & from hous to hous, for her
 cloystre schulde nouzt be her prison. Ys nouzt þis¹ grete
 damage to þe clergie & to þe peple also? Soplich hit semep
 so² to many men; & al hit haþ occasioun of þe¹ mysve of
 pryuyleges, for þei tellip þat þei vseþ so þe priuyleges of
 10 prechyng & of heryng of schriftes, neiz euerech man schameþ to
 werne hem oper to put hem of.

And also pese priuyleges and oper þingis þat schal be touched
 wipynne dop freres many damages. For hit semep þat pese
 priuyleges infectep hem with many maner synnes: wip þe synne
 15 of iniurie & of wrong, wip þe synne of vnboxomnesse, wip
 þe synne of couetise, & wip þe synne of pride. Hit semep þat
 boþe þe procuryng & þe holdyng of pese priuyleges, alle þat
 bep conteyned in þe chapitre *dudum de sepulture in Clementinis*,
 & of þe opere þat bep rehersed toforhonde infectep freres wip
 20 ³synnes. Hit semep þat þe procuring of pese priuyleges
 infectep freres wip³ þe synne of iniurie and wrong, touchyng
 curatours, for þat procuryng is azenus Goddes heeste⁴ þat seiþ:
 'Þou schalt nouzt coueite, noþer desire þi neizbores hous, noþer
 his wif, noþer his seruauant, noþer his oxen noþer his asse, noþer
 25 any þinge þat is his.' Exodi xx^o * c^o. Hit is soþe þat pese riztes,
 þat freres haueþ y-procured⁵, were þe riztes of curatours; þanne
 hit was azenus Goddes heeste⁴ so to coueite pese riztes. Coue-
 tise longeþ to procuryng & is tofore procuryng in euereche man
 þat procurip. Also hit is nouzt lawful to coueite þe curatours
 30 oxen noþer his asse. ffor hit is azenus Goddes heeste. þanne
 hit is more wrongful to coueite þingis þat bep more profitable
 to þe curatours, & siche bep pese riztes. Also þat procuryng
 was y-do azenus þe⁶ heeste of loue of þe⁷ neizbore þat seiþ: 'Þou
 schalt loue þi neizbore as þi-silf.' & ⁸euerech man louep so
 hymself⁸ þat he wolde nouzt þat oper men schulde coueite his

They go
 from court
 to court and
 from house
 to house,
 which is a
 great
 damage to
 the clergy
 and the
 people.

This comes
 from the
 misuse of
 privileges by
 the church.
 Other sins
 which arise
 therefrom,
 i.e. injury,
 wrong, un-
 boxomness,
 covetous-
 ness and
 pride,

which sins
 are against
 God's com-
 mands.
 Exodus
 20:17.

Fol. 12 b
 These were
 the rights
 of curates,
 which friars
 have taken.

This pro-
 curing of
 the rights of
 curates is
 against
 God's law.

¹ om. C.

² om. A C.

³⁻⁸ om. S.

⁴ ⁴ om. C.

⁵ procred Ch.

⁶ om. S.

⁷ þi A C S.

⁸⁻⁸ om. C.

This is also
proved by
Christ's
teaching.
Matt. 7:12.

catel wrongfullliche. Hit is soþe þat riȝtes of curatours þo were nouȝt due¹ to freres; þanne þei were wrongfullliche y-procured of hem & so aȝenus þat heest of God. Also hit may be preued by Cristes lore, Mathi 7^o c^o, þat seiþ: 'Al þat ȝe woleþ þat men do to ȝou, doþ ȝe² to hem, þat is þe lawe & þe prophetes.'³ 5 þere³ doying mot be take for dede & for sparyng of⁴ dede, so þat we schal spare & nouȝt do to opere men þat we wolde nouȝt þat opere men⁵ dide to vs,⁶ 7 þat we schulde nouȝt wilne þat opere men dide to vs⁷. But what frere wolde oper by hem wilne schulde, þat monkes oper chanons reulere⁸ oper⁹ freres of oper¹⁰ ordre, schulde bynyme hem þe priuyleges þat þei now haueþ? Y trowe þat no frere so wolde. Þanne schulde þei nouȝt do¹⁰ sicke wronges to curatours of hooly chirche.

Friars by
methods
they use are
not real
beggars, as
they profess
to be by
their foun-
dation.
Christ's dis-
ciples were
not called
beggars.
Luke 10:7.
They were
commanded
to get their
living.

Also procuring of sicke priuyleges infecteþ hem wip þe synne of vnboxomnesse, for¹¹ priuyleges beþ contrarie to þe reules of¹⁵ her professioun. Y preue hit, for in her appele þei supposeþ & makeþ suggestioun & telleþ, þat pese foure ordres beþ ordeyned of holy chirche, & y-founded vpon beggerie & vpon heigest¹² pouert. Hit semeþ þat hauyng riȝt to preche and to cristen men may nouȝt stonde wip sich a foundment of beggerie, ȝif²⁰ power of¹³ axing & of¹³ chalenging of lifode longeþ to þis priuylege, as hit doþ to riȝtful lawe, so þat freres myȝt chalange her lifode of hem þat þei prechiþ to þe gospel; as Cristes disciples hadde whanne Crist hem sent to preche þe gospel & seide: 'In what hous ȝe goþ yn¹⁴ þere abideþ, þe werkman is worpi his²⁵ mede.' Luce 10^o 15 c^o. Hit semeþ þat sicke schulde nouȝt be clepede¹⁶ beggers. How schulde he be¹⁷ cleped verrey begger? Y saye nouȝt begging þat haþ fre riȝt to chalange his lifode. Y se nouȝt how hit schuld stonde. Noper inquisitours noper freres of her ordre þat haueþ office, by þe whiche þei mowe³⁰ certeynlich chalange her lifode schuld be cleped beggers for

¹ dewe A C: þewe Ch S.

² ȝe þe same A C.

³ here A.

⁴ for A C. ⁵ om. S.

⁶ þat opere men dide to vs
repeated in H.

⁷⁻⁷ om. A C S.

⁸ reguler A C.

⁹ oper of S, and of crossed out.

¹⁰ vse C.

¹¹ for þes S.

¹² þe hizeste C.

¹³ om. C Ch S.

¹⁴ om. S.

¹⁵ 18 C S.

¹⁶ kept in A but crossed out, with
cleped written.

¹⁷ by C S.

schame of þe name, whanne þei schulde knowe in cause of
heresie & of þe laste riȝtful dome. Me seiþ þat þei vseþ siȝhe
office ful ofte & takeþ maisterfullich grete summes of money.¹
Noper a penytaunser noper a lystere þat hap his liflode by
5 certeyn couenaunt schuld be cleped verrey begger, as hit semeþ.
And so þei brekip her professioun in procuring & vsyng of pese
offices; & so hit semeþ þat boþe in wyllyng & in procuring of
siȝhe priuyleges þei wolde put of & doo away her rule of
beggerie; y saye nouȝt of begging þat bitokeneþ² þe dede.
10 And so in her herte þei haueþ y-put of & y-do away her rule as
Crist seiþ in siȝhe a doying: 'Who þat seeþ³ a woman for to
desire hir⁴ now he hap do lecherie⁵ in his herte.' Mathi 9^o c^o.
But ȝif freres telleþ, & soplich, as me semeþ, as y schal schewe
ynnermore þat to þe offys of prechyng longeþ power to chalange
15 nedeful liflode of hem þat me precheþ to.* But freres bep
nouȝt cleped noper committed to vse þat office, but haueþ a baar
leue & bep nouȝt y-hote noper chargide to vse þat office.
By⁶ anoper hed followip þe same of priuyleges of sepultures,
of leue to here schriftes, ⁷ of songinge of offrynges þat bep þanne
20 offred to God & of þe priuylege of heryng of schriftes⁷ of alle
þat wole be schryue to hem. For God hoteþ: 'þou⁸ schalt
nouȝt schewe pi-silf to-fore þe Lord God voyde wiþ-out offryng,
whanne þou gost into chirche for to haue þe sacramentis', as it
is writen Exodi 23^o c^o. Þei falleþ into þe synne of vnboxom-
25 nesse aȝenus obedience, for þei vseþ þat office aȝenus þe lore of
þe apostle, ⁹ ad Romanos 10^o 10 c^o, þere þe apostle⁹ seiþ: 'How
schul þei preche but þei be sent?' As it is writen: 'How faire
bep þe feet of þe prechours þat prechip pees, þat prechip good!'
Ad Hebreos 9^o c^o: 'No man to hym-silf takip worschip, but he
30 þat is cleped of God.' Also þei dop aȝenus Cristes lore þat seiþ:
'ȝe schal haue no wille to be cleped maister; ¹¹ oon is ȝour¹¹
maister, þat is Crist.' Mathi 20^o c^o. Þanne þei bep vnobedient
& vnboxom, þat bihoteþ¹² in her professioun¹² to holde & kepe

Friars not
only chal-
lenge their
living, but
also fake
great sums
of money.
Therefore
they should
not be called
beggars

So they have
put away
the rule of
begging.

Matt. 5:28.

Fol. 13 a
Friars have
no right to
challenge
their living.

None shall
appear
before the
Lord empty.
Exodus
23:15.

Romans
10:15.

Hebrews
5:4.

Matt.
23:8, 10.

¹ symonye S.

² tokenen A C Ch S.

³ sewen A C S: suwen Ch.

⁴ om. C.

⁵ spouse breche A C Ch S.

⁶ but C.

⁷⁻¹² om. A.

⁸ þat þou A C Ch S.

⁹⁻¹¹ om. C.

¹⁰ 18 S.

¹¹⁻¹² and bep nouȝt ycleped A C
Ch S.

¹²⁻¹² Repeated in A Ch.

The effect
of the pro-
curing of
these privi-
leges on
Friars.

St. Francis
forbade
friars these
privileges.

They looked
backward
and dis-
obeyed St.
Francis's
rule, which
says :

The sin of
disobedience
and un-
buxomness
in friars as

is seen in
the follow-
ing way.

Cristes gospel.¹ Also of frere menours hit may specialich folewe, for no man douteþ but hit is y-knowe þat þei haueþ more worldliche & more esy lif & lasse medeful lif wip þese priuyleges, ² þan wip-out þese pryuyleges,² of prechyng, of heryng of schriftes, of hauyng sepultures, & ³ 5 approprep to hem þe þre ferþe deles of profitis þat comeþ. Hit is lasse medeful to ⁴ lyue wip þese priuyleges þanne wip-out þese priuyleges, as Seint Fraunceys had ordeyned hem for to lyue. Þanne in procuryng of þese priuyleges þei by-heelde bacward, after þat þei hadde ⁵ y-put her hond to þe plowe, ¹⁰ *agenus* þe heest of God & *agenus* Seynt Fraunceys reule. In his rule in þe secunde chapitre hit is writen in þis maner: 'Whazne þe 3ere of assaye is y-do þei schul be ⁶ fonge to behote obedience'; for as þe gospel seiþ: 'No man þat putteþ his hond to þe plowe & by-holdeþ bacward is worþi þe kyngdom of God'; ¹⁵ so it is write þere.⁶ Þanne þei þat procured sicke priuyleges felle into þe synne of vnobedience & vnbuxomnesse, for þei by-helde bacward wip-oute any doute.

Also in þe bygyynyng of þe same chapitre, hit is writen: '3if eny men ⁷ wolleþ fonge þis lif & comeþ to oure freres, þe ²⁰ freres schal sende hem to her mynistres prouyncial; for þei & noon oþer haueþ leue to ⁸ fonge freres. Þanne þe mynistres schal examyne hem bisiliche of þe riȝt seiþ & of þe sacramentis of holy chirche, & 3if þei trowiþ al þis & knowlechip & wole truliche holde & kepe hem to her lyues ende,' & so forþe. ²⁵ But freres procureþ a priuylege þat boþe þe mynistres prouyncial & lasse men in þe ordre þan þe mynistres prouyncial, mowe fonge men to her ordre. And freres doþ so indifferentlich, & in procuryng of þat priuylege, þei wolde distruye & slake a partie of þe rule; þanne it folewiþ þat þei dide ⁹ þe synne ¹⁰ of 30 vnobedience & of vnbuxomnesse. And 3if þei doþ ¹¹ wipoute priuylege, þei doþ ⁹ neuerþelas vnobedientliche *agenus* her professioun. Also *agenus* þis clause of þe rule, þe mynistres schal

¹ After gospel is written & procureþ such priueyleges *agenste* the lawe of þe gospel S.

²⁻² om. C.

³ & to S.

⁴ for to S.

⁵ om. C.

⁶ þe C.

⁷ man C S.

⁸ om. A C Ch S.

⁹⁻⁹ om. C Ch S.

¹⁰ synnes A.

¹¹ doþ by & Ch.

examyne hem bisilich,¹ freres dop al day. For neiȝ no man comeþ to hem but þe child þat is bigiled, þat knowiþ² what noþer how many sacramentes beþ of holy chirche, noþer can knowe bitwene riȝt feye & heresie. & ȝitt vnneþe is y-founde
 5 eny notable place of freres wiþout a couent oper half of children wiþ-ynne ten ȝere olde. & who may doute þat* þat is nouȝt Fol. 13 b
 in freres þe synne of vnobedience, & comeþ by þe forseide The power of friars over children.
 priuyleges, by þe whiche þei beþ so made riche & y-worschiped þat children assenteþ liȝtlich for to do her wille, & namelich
 10 her wille þat hereþ schriftes in her owne hous,³ oper in þe hous³ of children frendes. Þanne þe procuryng &⁴ mysuse of þese priuyleges infecteþ þese freres wiþ synne of vnobedience & vnboxomnesse, as hit semeþ.

Also in Seynt⁵ Fraunceys rule, & in þe chapitre *Exiit, de* St. Francis declares that
 15 *Verborum Significatione, libro 6^{to}*, hit is seide & declared þat friars shall not preach
 freres schal kepe & holde þat þei preche in no bischops bischopriche ȝif þe bischop wiþ-seiþ hem. Also Seynt Fraunceis in the bishop's district without
 in his testament seiþ: 'Þouȝ⁶ ich had as grete kunnyng as euer his consent.
 had Salomon, & ich fynde pore prestes of þis world in parische
 20 pere⁷ þei woneþ, y wole nouȝt preche aȝenus her wille, & hem alle ich wole drede & louye & worschipe as my Lordes, & þei beþ my Lordes'; þis is writen pere. But what worschip freres
 dop now to pore prestes hit may nouȝt be hidde while hit is Friars do
 newe⁸; but vnreuerence in euerech place may be founde y-do not show
 25 in stede of reuerence. And þei procureþ⁹ þe priuylege þat is reverence to
 conteyned in þe chapitre, & in þat procuryng þei hadde in her priests.
 wille þe synne of vnboxomnesse, for þei wolde vndo þat lawe þat þei hadde toforhonde & were wiþ y-chargide. Vppon þis vers
 of þe Psauter, '*legem pone mihi domine viam iustificacionum*
 30 *tuarum,*' & so forþ, Seint Austin seiþ¹⁰ in þis maner: 'He þat St. August-
 holdeþ the lawe for drede of peyne & nouȝt for loue of riȝtwisnesse, tine says of
 he holdeþ þe lawe maugre¹¹ his teep; for ȝif he myȝt leue he wolde a man who
 nouȝt holde þe lawe but he wolde þat hit were no lawe & so he holds the
 is no frende of þe lawe but enemy perof, while he wolde þat¹² lawe that he
 is its enemy.

¹ bisiliche as C.² knoweþ noȝt S.³ houses C.⁴ of C.⁵ seyn Ch.⁶ þeiȝ A C Ch S.⁷ of pere C.⁸ noon S.⁹ procreþ A Ch.¹⁰ om. C.¹¹ maugreþ S.¹² om S.

Those who
procure
privileges
may not say
'Thy will
be done'.

St. Francis's
rule in
regard to
friars.

Friars may
not do thus
without
being
obedient.

Fol. 14 a

Friars
should have
meat and
drink before
they take on
holy orders.

hit were nouȝt, & no man is clensed by þe dede, ȝif he is vnclene
in his wille.' Þus¹ seiþ Seint Austyn. Hit is soþe þat he þat
procureþ as freres dooþ, may nouȝt wiþ-out leue of þe bischop
²preche in his bischopriche, noþer² here schriftes. Þanne þei
wolde þat þe rule þat is contrarie were nouȝt; & so þei holdeþ
hit nouȝt for loue of riȝtwisnesse bote for drede of peyne; & so
þei wolde þat þei hadde noon heeste to holde þe reule; & so þei
were no frendes but enemyes to þe raper lawe & vnclene of wille
as Austyn seiþ. Also þese þat procureþ priuyleges contrarie
to here reule & to her professioun & to her parfitnesse also, 10
mowe nouȝt truliche seye þis clause of þe paternoster in þat
caas: 'Fiat voluntas tua sicut in celo & in terra', þat is, 'þi wille
be do in erpe as hit is in heuene'. And ȝett þei be y-holde þerto
by þe professioun þat þei makip of þe gospel.

Seynt Fraunceys hygynneþ his rule in þis maner: 'Þis is þe 15
reule & þe lif of³ frere menours to holde & kepe þe gospel of
oure Lord Ihesu; and it is Goddes wille þat þis heeste & his
counseil be y-holde as euereche knoweþ'. Þanne it is Goddes
wille þat freres holde her rule atte fulle, þat þei haueþ y-made
in⁴ her professioun to holde; also þat is y-hote in þe secunde 20
chapitre of þe rule. And þese freres in her herte procureþ þe
contrarie, & procureþ þat þe keping of þe reule be y-slaked &
wiþdrawe. And so hit sueþ⁵ þat freres, þat so procureþ, beþ
infect wiþ þe synne of vnobedience & vnboxumnesse aȝenus God
& aȝenes her owne rule. Hit semeþ þat þis solewiþ also of 25
anoþer hed. For þese freres noþer oper freres mowe here
schriftes, noþer use⁶ þe⁷ office of prechyng, noþer fonge holy
ordres, þe whiche þei fongeþ wiþ þe synne of vnboxumnesse as
hit⁸ semeþ. For it is comyn lawe of holy cherche þat no man
schulde fonge holy ordre, but he haue suffisaunt tytel⁹ to haue 30
mete & drynke and cloþe; and siche a tytel haueþ nouȝt freres
while þei beþ verrey beggers as þei tellip hem-silf. Þanne it
semeþ þat aȝenes þis lawe alle freres fongeþ holy ordres; & so
in procuryng of so heiȝ a⁹ state þei falleþ nouȝt onlich into þe

¹ þis A C Ch S.

²⁻² om. C.

³ of þe C.

⁴ om. A C Ch S.

⁵ feweþ A C S: syweþ Ch.

⁶ use of C Ch S.

⁷ om. C Ch S.

⁸ tyme C.

⁹ om. A C Ch S.

synne of vnobedience & vnboxumnesse, but also into þe synne of Thus they
coueitise. Also in¹ Seint Fraunceys reule in þe same chapitre are covet-
ous.
of prechyng, hit is y-hote þat no frere schuld be hardy in eny² St. Francis
maner wise to preche to þe peple, but he be examyned & says that a
friar should
5 apprued of þe mynistr general, & haue leue³ of hym, & graunt³ not preach
until he is
to vse þe office of prechyng. But now is a priuylege y-procured examined
for þe contrarie þat þe mynistres prouyncial schuld do þe same, and ap-
proved by
& þei þat procureþ hit dop hit⁴ azenus her owne rule. Þanne the minister
pei dop þe synne of vnobedience & vnboxumnesse. general.

- 10 Also Seint Fraunceis in his testament hoteþ & seiþ in þis
manere: 'Ich hote alle freres heigliche by⁵ obedience where þei Friars
euer be, þat þei be nouzt hardy to axe eny lettre in þe court of should not
Rome by hem-silf, noþer by mene persone, noþer for chirche, ask letters
in the court
noþer for eny place, noþer for hope of preching, noþer for of Rome by
themselves.
- 15 persecucioun of heres'; þis is I-seide þere. & freres haueþ y-do They haue
þe contrarie in her owne persone & y-procured þese⁶ priuyleges, done so.
& also by lettres. For in þe priuyleges⁷ hit is conteyned in
þis maner, we beþ y-bowed to 3oure prayers; & so it semeþ þat
þis procuryng infecteþ þe procuratours wip þe synne of vnobedi-
20 ence & vnboxumnesse; but on caas here þei wole seye as it is
seide in þe decretal⁸ of þe ferþe pope Nichol, Exiit, þat þe
nynþe⁹ pope Gregorie declared, þat freres beþ nouzt y-holde to
þe heste of Seynt Fraunceis þat is conteyned in þat testament.
And me answereþ hem þat pope Nichol seiþ nouzt þat þe nynþe⁹ The ninth
pope Gregorie declared so, but he seiþ as me seiþe; & so hit Pope
Gregory's
25 semeþ þat freres had no declaracioun per vpon. For it is seme- declaration
lich þat¹⁰ 3if þei hadde eny lettre þei wolde haue schewed hit to in regard to
St. Francis's
fore pope Nichol, & þanne it semeþ þat þei wolde nouzt saye as rule.
This has
been mis-
interpreted.
as me seiþ, but as me haueþ y-seye conteyned in his lettres. Also
30 be hit þat pope Gregorie so declared, 3et his entent was noon
oper þan his resouns concludiþ. Pope Nichol in þe same
decretal Exiit, spekiþ of þe nynþe⁹ pope Gregorie & seiþ in þis
maner: He, as me seiþ, syz¹¹ þe peryl of soules & difficulte þat
pei myzt falle ynne perby, & meuede þe doute out of her hertes,
Pope
Nichol's
interpreta-
tion of Pope
Gregory's
decretal.

¹ om. C Ch.² meny Ch.³⁻³ and graunt of hym S.⁴ om. S.⁵ be C.⁶ þe C.⁷⁻⁷ om. C.⁸ decretales A C.⁹ nyþe Ch S.¹⁰ om. S.¹¹ sei A C.

& seide pat freres bep nouzt y-holde to kepe pat heeste pat may nouzt oblege wip-out assent of freres, & namelich wip-oute assent of mynystres, for hit touchip alle freres; & hit oblegide¹ his successour in noon² maner wise, for of twey peres noþer hap power & heeste ouer oper. Azenes þis present article we bep nouzt⁵ avised eny ping to renewe; þis is y-write pere. Þerfore pope Gregorie seip: 'ȝif he ouzt dide in pat he made nouzt a decre oper³ a⁴ declaracioun, pat freres were nouzt y-bounde to pat heeste of Seint Fraunceys to vnderstonde in pat pat hit was his heeste; for his resouns preueþ nouzt elles, pat þei were⁶ alle¹⁰ y-cleped pat hadde to doying þerwip. For of twey peres neiþer⁶ hap power & heeste ouer oper'. By⁷ þis declaracioun hit semep pat hit may stonde pat freres be neuerpelasse y-holde⁸ and holde⁸ pat testament, ȝif Fraunceys bitoke hem pat by⁹ auctorite of God; for hit neded nouzt to clepe þe mynystres noþer¹⁵

Friars should observe and hold the testament of Francis.

Fol. 14 b Fraunceys successours to examyne Goddes^{*} heeste. So pat nouztwipstondinge þese¹⁰ resouns freres were þo y-holde,¹¹ & ȝet be¹¹ to kepe & holde pat testament by auctorite & heeste of God, by Fraunceys y-schewide to¹² freres. And pat it was so, hit semep by þe same testament¹³ atte ende¹³, þer it is seide in þis¹⁴ maner: 'And seye nouzt freres þis is anoper reule, for hit is¹⁴ mynde and warnyng & charyng & my testament, pat ich litel & symple frere Fraunceys make to ȝow my¹⁵ blessed freres. Þerfore to kepe & holde þe better & more holiliche þe rule, pat we haueþ byhote to oure Lord, þe mynystre general & oper²⁵ mynystres & custodes, be þei y-holde by¹⁶ obedience in þese nopyng to putt to, noþer wip-drawe'. Also haue þei þis wip hem y-write riȝt fast by þe reule & yn euereche chapitre, pat þei makeþ whanne þei redip þe reule: 'Rede þei þese wordes to alle my freres lered & lewed, ich hote by obedience pat þei³⁰ sette no glose in þe reule noþer seye þese wordes so þei wolde mene & vnderstonde, but as oure Lord ȝaf me to saye & write

Another rule of St. Francis,

which he exhorts his brother friars to observe and obey.

¹ oblege A C.

² no S.

³ oper of C.

⁴ om. CS.

⁵ were nouzt S.

⁶ noþer A C Ch S.

⁷ why A C Ch: wip S.

⁸⁻⁹ om. C: to holde S.

⁹ be C.

¹⁰ om. C.

¹¹⁻¹² om. C.

¹² to þe S.

¹³⁻¹⁴ at þe A C S: attenende Ch.

¹⁴ is in C.

¹⁵ myn Ch.

¹⁶ be C.

þe reule purelich¹ & sympeliche; & þese wordes vnderstonde 3e wip-oute glose & kepe 3e² & holde 3e hem with holy entent³ anone to þe ende'; þis is y-write þere.

Hereby hit semeþ þat freres mowe chese oon of⁴ tweyne, 5 oper saye þat þe founder of here ordre Fraunceys in his testament⁵ made a lesyng & is y-dampned, oper soþ seide þat his testament⁵ is nouzt anoper reule, but mencionn & mynde⁶ of þe raper rule þat was hem y-3eue. And so as þei beþ y-holde to kepe & holde þe reule, so þei beþ y-holde to kepe & holde 10 pat testament. Also Fraunceys seide þat he made this testa-
 ment to his blessed freres, for þei schuld þe better & þe more holilich kepe & holde þe⁷ reule þat þei hadden bi-hote to God. Þanne oper he made anoper lesyng, & þei schul efte seye, þat he is dampned, oper by kepyng & holdyng of his testament þei 15 schuld þe better & þe more holyliche kepe & holde þe reule; & so wip-out kepyng & holdyng of þis testament þei schulde kepe & holde⁸ here þe lasse holilich, þei procured declaracioun for þe contrarie &⁹ biheelde bakward in þe wey of þe kingdom of god,¹⁰ & wente bakward & were vnable to þe kingdom of god¹⁰; 20 and so þei were infect wip þe synne of vnobedience & vnbuxomnesse. Also he hoteþ his freres by obedience þat þei schulde nouzt put to noþer wipdrawe þerof, & þat þei schulde alwey haue wip hem þat testament rizt by her rule. Þanne oper þei schal seye þat he heet & dide wrechchidlich in þe cause of¹¹ so grete 25 peryl & is y-dampned for þat synne, oper þat he 3af hem þat heeste riztfulliche & holiliche. And þanne þei most schewe why þei byheelde bakward & made hem¹² self vnable to þe kyngdom of God, whanne þei put of & forsoke so grete holynesse. Also in þese wordes Fraunceys seip þat oure Lord 3af hym, 30 purelich¹³ & symplelich wip-out condicioun, þis reule & þese wordes to say and to write. Þanne oper,¹⁴ for a¹⁵ grete lesyng¹⁶ at his lyues ende, freres schal saye þat he is dampned oper þat

St. Francis made the testament to better his blessed friars.

But the friars procured another declaration contrary to St. Francis, and so they are infected with the sin of disobedience.

St. Francis commanded by the Lord to give this rule.

¹ poreliche S.

² om. C.

³ intent Ch.

⁴ or C.

⁵⁻⁵ om. C.

⁶ mynde Ch.

⁷ here A Ch S : hire C.

⁸ om. A C.

⁹ and þei A.

¹⁰⁻¹⁰ om. C.

¹¹ and A C.

¹² hym C.

¹³ poreliche S.

¹⁴ om. A.

¹⁵ om. A C Ch : so S.

¹⁶ alesyng A C Ch.

It is God's
command
told to them
by their
founder
St. Francis.

Fol. 15 a

Friars at
London
dispute of
the perfec-
tion of the
Gospel
and tell that
it stands
in beggary.
One of them
preached a
sermon in
which he
described
four degrees
of poverty.

St. John
the apostle
calls Christ's
Church the
holy city of
the new
Jerusalem,
which came
down to
earth.

he soþlich seide þat oure Lord 3af hit to hym, so for he schulde telle hit þe ¹ freres, & so ² he tolde to his freres Goddes owne heeste. And so, þouȝ ³ þei be ² not y-holde to holde & kepe þat testament by-cause of Seynt Fraunceys heeste, ȝet þei beþ y-holde to kepe & holde hit, for hit is Goddes owne heeste, y- ⁵ tolde hem & y-schewide by her owne founder Seynt ⁴ Fraunceys. Þanne freres mowe chese wheþer party hem * likeþ of tweyne. Y trowe þat þei wollep chese & saye þat he seide ⁵ wiþ-out siche ⁶ leesying & synne. Þanne hit semeþ ⁷ þat freres, in ⁸ procuring lettres of þe pope ȝenus þe heeste of God & of her owne reule, ¹⁰ infecteþ hem-silf wiþ þe synne of vnobedience and vnboxomnesse.

Y speke þe more largelich in þis mater ȝenus frere menours, ⁹ for þei bigunne þe cause at Londoun & ȝaf occasioun to opere freres of opere ordres; for þei disputeþ more þan opere of þe ¹⁰ ¹⁵ þarfitnesse of þe gospel & tellip þat hit stondip in skilful ¹¹ beggerye. So þat oon of þat ordre prechide on ¹² Alle Halwen Day, as hit was reported to me, & discreuede foure degrees of pouert, & seide þat þe ferþe degre is of ¹³ most þarfiztnesse of þe gospel & is to haue no-pynge in þis worlde in propre noþer in ²⁰ comyn but begge wiþ Crist. & þat sawe slaundrip þe staat of ȝow & of vs alle þat beþ in lowere degre. Þerfore holy fader, here vppon as vppon ¹⁴ oper poyntes þat beþ seide toforhond, 'demeþ nouȝt by þe face but riȝtful dome ȝe deme'. Hit semeþ grete wonder & more verreilich to speke, hit semeþ nouȝt soþe ²⁵ þat a þousand ȝere ¹⁵ & neiȝ two hundred, noon ordre was in Cristes chirche here in erþe, þe whiche chirch Joon ¹⁶ þe ¹⁷ apostle clepeþ Jerusalem toward þe ende of þe Apocalips ¹⁸: 'And y Joon ¹⁶ syȝ þe holy cite þe newe Jerusalem come down from heuene arayed as a spousesse y-socyed to hir spouse'; & ³⁰ noon ordre was in Cristes chirche þat helde þe þarfiztnesse of þe

¹ to C.

²⁻² om. S.

³ þeyȝ Ch.

⁴ seyn Ch.

⁵ deyde S.

⁶ om. C.

⁷ syweþ C.

⁸ & C.

⁹ minors S.

¹⁰ om. C.

¹¹ wilful S.

¹² an Ch: in an S.

¹³ om. C.

¹⁴ þan Ch.

¹⁵ om. S.

¹⁶ ion S.

¹⁷ in C.

- gospel, but Fraunceys þat was 3itt a nouys fonde vp¹ þe first ordre; for holy chirche here² in erpe is cleped Jerusalem in seynt³ Joones wordes, & seynt Joon seiþ þat hit comeþ doun from heuene. Þanne it is soþe þat holy chirche here in erpe, 5 þat come doun from holy chirche þat is in heuene, had parfitnesse of hir founder, þat is Crist, & was arayed as a spouses⁴ to Crist, þat was & is hir spouse, & was nouzt so vnsemelich þo, & so many 3ere þerafter wip-oute þe state of⁵ grattest parfitnesse. Also who myzt suffre abliche &⁶ here þat Fraunceys, 10 þat was but⁷ a nouys⁸ in þe fey ordeyne þe wey of parfitnesse of mankynde,⁹ better & more profitabliche, þan God þat is al good & al witty. & in þe first ordynaunce of man God ordeyned hym so þat anon as man was made, God put hym in Paradys for he schuld worche & kepe Paradys; so hit is written in þe 15 bygynyng of Hooly Writ. Hit semep me þat pere God tauzt þat bodilich werk, possessioun and plente of riches & vnmebles,¹⁰ & warde & keping þerof for mannes vse, schuld be sett to-fore beggerie; for god sett man in Paradys for he schuld worche. And hereto acordeþ Hooly Writ in anoþer place & seiþ: 'Man is 20 y-bore to trauail & a foul to flizt'. Job 5^o c^o. For man schuld kepe Paradys as his owne & haue¹¹ þere plente of good¹¹, & catel, meble & vnmeble; but hereof y schal speke more largelich. Þanne hit semep þat freres infecteþ hem-silf wip þe synne of vnbusumnesse in procuryng¹² of þese priuyleges.
- 25 ¹³ Also hit semep þat freres infecte hem-self wip þe synne of couetise in procuringe of þese priueleges¹³; first for þei procured nouzt opere priuyleges in helpe of opere peryls of þe office of presthode, as to folly¹⁴ children in help of curatours, & housle paryschons on¹⁵ Ester day and anoynt seke men at her ende¹⁶ day.
- 30 And þese dedes myzt be as medeful as þe opere; but þese þei lefte & procuride priuyleges, to þe whiche longeþ worldlich wyynyng & profit in oon maner wise oper opere. And so þei

Therefore the holy church that came down from heaven must be perfect.

It was ordained by God, not by St. Francis.

God taught that man should work.

Holy Writ teaches that man should work. Job 5 : 7.

They left the work of the church and procured priuileges which

¹ vpon A C: ap Ch: vp S.

² here here C.

³ seynt Ch.

⁴ spouse A C Ch S.

⁵ of þe S.

⁶ om. S.

⁷ hote A Ch: hoote C.

⁸ noon A: non C.

⁹ mankyng C: mankunde Ch.

¹⁰ vnmeble A C Ch S.

¹¹⁻¹² þerof good & plente C.

¹² procuryng Ch.

¹³⁻¹⁵ MS. omits. From A.

¹⁴ cristene AC: volly Ch: fully S.

¹⁶ and A.

¹⁶ ending C.

gave them beþ made more wondrefull þan eny chapmen oper craftes men,
 Fol. 15 b for to gete profit * & wynnyng wip her professioun þat þei
 profit, and thus became chapmen. Through pretended beggary they became rich.
 was first made, was an esyere wey, more sly3 & wyly to gadre riches, þan by þe forseide priuyleges wip þe obligacioun of beg- 5
 gerie soplich oper y-feyned¹. Also nouztwipstondinge þat freres hadde fre² power to fonge dede bodyes to sepulture in her place, 3ett myzt þe comyn ryzt & lawe abide in þe persoon so þat alle þe offrynges & ryztes of sepulture schuld be dewe³ to parische 10
 churches & to⁴ curatours þerof. Þanne for freres haueþ procured þat oon wip þat oper hit is clerelich y-knowe þat coueitise was cause of þat procuryng. *Primo posteriorum*, hit is Aristotels reule for to fynde redelich what is þe principal cause of⁵ entent & of desire, and seiþ þat 3if þat cause is had þe entent & desire is⁶ had, and⁷ 3if⁸ þat cause faileþ⁹ þe entent and desire faileþ⁹. 15
 Þis reule preueþ þat worldliche profit & wynnyng was chief cause in procuryng of þese priuyleges, for þerwipout was nouzt þat procuryng, & þei procured oonlich þe priuyleges to þe whiche longep sich profit & wynnyng. Hereof hit¹⁰ is an open token þat þei rauyschþ no¹¹ pore dede¹² mennes¹³ bodyes for to 20
 burie as Thobie dide; but þei smelleþ her mete & witeþ where hit is & feccheþ hit fyve hundrid myle ouer þe see as vulturs¹⁴ doþ, as þe comentor Aueroys seiþ, 2^o *de anima*, c^o *de odore*, as ich haue in mynde. Þis token schewip cleere y-now3 þat freres procuride þis pryuylege of sepulture wip þe offrynges þat longep 25
 þerto, principalich for fode & nouzt for to vse medeful dedes of mercy.

The procuring of all privileges was to obtain profit and winning.

He compares them to vultures in the procuring of the privileges of sepulture for the purposes of profit and not for deeds of mercy.

Also of þe priuylege of heryng of schriftes indistinctlich of alle men,¹⁵ hit semep¹⁵ a grete euydence, for me may not skilfulliche suppose oper wise, for opere holy men hereþ nouzt 30
 schriftes in þat wise. Hit is y-now3 to euerech man to knowe his owne synne pou3 he lerne nouzt of opere men¹⁶ synnes. Þer-

¹ in feyned C.² þe C.³ dede C: þewe Ch S.⁴ to þe A Ch S.⁵ of þe S.⁶ om. C.⁷ and I 3ene C.⁸ om. C.⁹ falleþ C.¹⁰ om. C.¹¹ noon A C.¹² om. A.¹³ men A C Ch S.¹⁴ vouttreres C.¹⁵⁻¹⁶ repeated A.¹⁶ menis A C.

fore noþer white monkes, ne blak, noþer chanouns reuler, noþer
 oper hooly men desireþ sich an office. And wip-out drede ȝif sich
 procuryng come of deuocioun, hit schuld be somtyme y-knowe
 in opere hooly men & nouȝt onlich in hooly freres. Þanne it
 5 may be skilfullich concluded þat couetise enfecteþ þe soule of
 þe procuratour as cheef cause in siche a¹ procuryng.

Covetous-
 ness and not
 devotion
 impells
 friars to
 obtain the
 privilege of
 hearing
 shrifts.

Also Seynt. Fraunceys in his rule hoteþ in þis maner: 'Ich
 hote heizlich alle freres þat þei haue noon² suspect company as
 counseil of wymmen; also þat þei come nouȝt in Abbayes of
 10 monchons³ out-take pilke freres þat haue special leue of þe
 court of Rome; also þat þei be nouȝt⁴ gossippes⁵ to men noþer
 to wymmen, leste slaundre arise by occasioun þerof among
 freres'. And freres procureþ þe contrarie for to here þe
 priuyeste counseile of wymmen, of queenes, & of alle opere, &
 15 leggeþ hed to hed. Wip grete obedience þei folewip Seynt
 Job þat seide: 'Ich haue made couenaunt wip myn eizen þat
 y wolde⁷ þenke of a mayde'. And so now by sich company þei
 disputeþ wip ladyes in chambre; þerfore in al þe worlde wide
 slaunder springeþ of freres, þe wiche slaundre y wole nouȝt
 20 reherse at þis tyme. Of many hit semeþ openlich þat þei
 infecteþ hem-silf wip þe synne of vnobediens & vnbuxumnesse
 by þe mys-vse of siche priuyleges, & of her owne reule by
 occasioun of siche priuyleges.

Further
 rules of
 St. Francis.

Friars
 commit sin
 with women.

This slander
 arises in
 connexion
 with friars.

And þat þe procuryng of þese priuyleges infecteþ þe soules
 25 of þe procuratours wip þe synne of pruyde, y preue hit first.
 For in þe decretal *Exini de paradiso, in Cle. de Verborum Signifi-*
catione, hit is seide þat Seynt Fraunceys wolde founde his
 ordre in þe heizeste pouert and *mekenesse. And procuryng
 of heiz state⁸ of worschip of holy chirche inpugneþ mekenesse,
 30 and haþ by couetise, pride, & synne, longinge þerto. Þanne þe
 procuryng of þese priuyleges infecteþ þe soules of þe procura-
 tours wip þe synne of pride⁹; & þat procuryng of heiz state of¹⁰
 worschip of holy¹¹ chirche¹² inpugneþ mekenesse, & haþ by

The sin of
 pride comes
 from this
 procuring.

Pride
 instead of
 meekness.
 Fol. 16 a

¹ om. C.

² no S.

³ mynchouns A CS.

⁴ none C.

⁵ gossibbes A C: godsybbes Ch S.

⁶ þat C.

⁷ wolde nouȝt S.

⁸ estate C.

⁹ prute Ch: pruyte S.

¹⁰ & C.

¹¹ hiȝ S.

¹² statt S.

This is shown in our Lord's answer to the sons of Zebedee.

John with the golden mouth says:

The desire of supremacy comes of pride of heart.

The man who desires supremacy in holy church is covetous.

Romans 10:15.

The desire for office. Friars are thieves and robbers. John 10:1.

The proper method of calling to preach, not like the prophets, see Jeremiah 23:21;

couetise & pride¹ longinge *perto*, hit is preued by þe answe^re þat oure Lord 3af to zebedeus sones, & seide: '3e witeþ nouzt what 3e axeþ.' Þei axide by her moder þat þe oon of hem schulde sitte in² his riȝt side & þe oþer in his lifte³ side in his Kyngdom. *Pere-vppon, opere imperfecto*, Joon wip þe gilden⁵ moupe seiþ: 'Heelful errorr þat vndide þe errorr of al þe worlde. 3if þe apostles hadde nouzt y-erred how myȝt we knowe, þat nouzt al þing þat semeþ is good? But now we knoweþ for somewhat is beste & most good to þe primate of worschip. & anoon *peraſter* for⁴ þe desyre of primate comeþ of¹⁰ pryde of herte; for he⁵ þat is meke of herte desireþ neuer to seme heiȝ above oþere. And ynnere-more he seiþ to desire seculer primate þouȝ it be nouzt riȝtful⁶ resone; ȝet *pere* is somme cause þouȝt it be nouzt riȝtful⁶, ȝet it is profitable. But to⁷ desire primate of⁸ holy chirche, hit is nouzt resoun, noþer cause, noþer¹⁵ riȝtful, noþer profitable'. Þis is writen *pere*, & he telleþ *pere* many siche sawes by þe whiche he wole preue þat neuer wip-oute couetise is desired primate of holy chirche.

Þis is confemed in an oþer maner; for þe apostle seiþ: 'How schul þei⁹ preche but ȝif¹⁰ þei be y-sent?' as hit is y-write, How²⁰ feir beþ þe feet of hem þat precheþ pees & of hem þat precheþ good!' ad Romanos 10^c cº. & by nopinge þat iche¹⁰ haue ȝett y-seye þei¹¹ beþ nouzt y-sent of God to þat office. Þanne it semeþ þat by her owne *presumpecioun* þei stieþ vp to þat office. Þan war hem þat þei come nouzt yn by an oþer wey þan by²⁵ Crist, þat is þe dore. For þanne Crist demep hem robbers & peeues¹², as *Johannis* 10^c cº: 'For soþe y telle hit ȝow, he þat comeþ nouzt yn by þe dore into þe folde of scheep but styeþ up by an oþer weye, he is a robbere and a þeef'; & comynlich Crist clepeþ hym-silf þe dore. And it semeþ þat þei beþ of pilke³⁰ prophetes oþer siche maner prophetes as þe prophet spekþ of, *Jeremie* 22º: 'Ich sent nouzt þe¹³ prophetes & þei runne¹⁴;

¹ pruyte synne S.

² on A C.

³ left A.

⁴ om. C.

⁵ om. S.

⁶⁻⁸ om. A.

⁷ om. C.

⁸ nouzt riȝtful S, and crossed out between primate and of.

⁹ om. Ch.

¹⁰ om. S.

¹¹ om. C.

¹² þeeues Ch.

¹³ om. C.

¹⁴ rounde A Ch: rownede C.

y spake nouȝt to hem & þei propheciede¹; & anon¹ hit folewip :
 ' Lo ! ich speke² to þe prophetes, quop³ oure Lord, þat stelep⁴ also 23 : 30.
 my wordes euereche of his neȝbore '. Ȝif þei beþ nouȝt sende of
 Crist þei stelep þe wordes of⁵ curatours & of her souereynes, þe
 5 whiche & noon oþere haueþ þe office of prechyng, by þe comyn
 lawe, as it is seide.

Also þat þe holdyng of þese priuyleges infecteþ þe holders,
 hit is preued. For hit is nouȝt y-hote to freres noþer hit longeþ
 to her professioun noþer to her reule forto vse þe office of
 10 prechyng⁶. Þanne it semeþ þat þei vseþ wilfullich to preche Friars sin
 openly among þe peple oþer to here schriftes, & þei wollep taking over
 fonge siche an offyce; þanne it semeþ þat þei synneþ dedlich. the office for
 First, for þei knoweþ oþer schuld knowe þat þese priuyleges preaching
 were procured by mene of þe dedliche synnes þat beþ rehersed and hearing
 15 toforhond for þe vse of þese priuyleges, & þei vseþ⁷ hem also. shrifts.
 Þanne þei assenteþ & allowip þe procuryng⁸, as ȝif a man etep
 of robberie & of þefþe⁹ þat is y-gete for his vse in his etyng,
 he alloweþ þe robberie & þefþe⁹. And he þat hap a benefice A man who
 to his profit y-procured by symonye, & comyneþ¹⁰ wip þe pro- fice to his
 20 curatour in þe synne of symonie & alloweþ þat doyng, he is profit
 vnder þe apostels decre, ad Romanos 3^o c^o : ' Þei¹¹ þat doþ siche is under the
 dedes beþ^{*} worþi þe deþ. & nouȝt onlich þei þat so dooþ, but Apostles' decree,
 also þei þat assenteþ to hem þat doþ siche dedes', as y seide Fol. 16 b
 toforhand. And þei mowe nouȝt be excused by leue oþer graunt Romans
 25 of þe pope as hit semeþ, for þe pope in his graunt setteþ nouȝt 1 : 32 and
 þe obstaunce¹² þat he schuld semelich sett in þis maner. We They are
 graunteþ þis to freres nouȝtwipstondinge her wicked conscience; not even
 but it semeþ þat hit was his entent to relesche¹³ onlich þe excused by
 obstaunce of mannes lawes. As¹⁴ ȝif oon¹⁵ hap do manslauȝter,¹⁶ the grant of
 30 oþer symonye, oþer hap a wemme¹⁷ and defeaute¹⁷ in his body þat the pope.
 is vnknowe, þat makeþ hym¹⁸ vnable to a benefice of holy

¹ anon riȝt C.² om. S.³ seide S.⁴ stele A C Ch S.⁵ of þe S.⁶ preching by þe comon lawe C.⁷ vsen C.⁸ wickede procuryng S.⁹ þefþe A C : þeufþe Ch.¹⁰ communeþ C : comneþ Ch :
comuneþ S.¹¹ om. C.¹² substance, sub *crossed out and*
ob in margin A.¹³ relese A C Ch S.¹⁴ And C.¹⁵ he C.¹⁶ manslauȝt Ch S.¹⁷⁻¹⁷ om. S.¹⁸ hem Ch.

The pope may dispense with certain laws, yet the friar sins deadly if he uses these privileges.

chirche, & hap ¹graunt & leue¹ of þe pope to holde many benefices wip cure; 3ett her-fore may he² no benefice of holy chirche holde lawfulliche noþer riȝtfulliche; but þat lawe þat þe pope dispenseþ wip letteþ hym nouȝt, & 3itt nouȝt wipstondinge þat dispensacioun, he synnep dedliche 3if he holdip eny ⁵ benefice of holy chirche. So it is in oure purpos as it semeþ me. For þouȝ³ þe pope dispense wip freres touchyng þe lawe, by þe whiche lawe siche riȝt & doying is dewe⁴ to curatours, 3ett mowe nouȝt þe⁵ freres vse þese wip fulle riȝt & lawe; but þe lawe þat þe pope dispenseþ wip letteþ hem nouȝt, ⁶ & it ¹⁰ semeþ þat þei mowe nouȝt⁶ vse þese priuyleges wip-out dedlich synnes.

Friars may not repent of this sin, unless they make restitution.

Þanne it semeþ þat þei beþ alwey in dedlich synnes by allowaunce & holdyng of þese priuyleges, as⁷ þouȝ þei procurede hem oþer were assenting to þe procuryng. And þese⁸ freres ¹⁵ tellip þat freres myȝt & mowe be repentaunt & do penaunce for þat synne, & so it may nouȝt be concluded þat somme ne⁹ beþ 3ett in synne. Þe contrarie schal be seide; for riȝt as in þeþpe¹⁰ & stalpe¹¹ may no man be verrey repentaunt & do verrey penaunce, but he¹² quyte¹³ aȝen þat he hap y-stole; noþer in ²⁰ oure purpos. But þei wole saye þat now touchyng þe curatours, þei haueþ riȝtfullich þese priuyleges & profites þat comeþ þerof, for hit is y-graunted¹⁴ þe¹⁵ same; & so to restore hem aȝen¹⁶ beþ þei nouȝt y-holde. Here þe contrarie schal be seide; for nouȝt-wipstonding þe titel þat is y-gete by þe pope, þei beþ y-holde ²⁵ to make restitucioun in somme maner wise, for þe synne of þe allowyng & assenting¹⁷ þat is touched toforhond, in grauntyng¹⁷ of þe priuyleges, þat¹⁸ synne was nouȝt releched¹⁹, noþer myȝt be releched¹⁹ to þese²⁰ freres but þei were²¹ verrey repentaunt

¹⁻¹ leue and graunt A S.

² be Ch.

³ þei A C S; þeyz Ch.

⁴ þewe Ch S.

⁵ om. A C.

⁶⁻⁸ om. C.

⁷ And C.

⁸ þe C.

⁹ om. A C Ch S.

¹⁰ þeste A: þe fecte C: þeufþe Ch: þe fre S.

¹¹ steleþe A.

¹² be Ch: he be S.

¹³ aquyte C.

¹⁴ y-graunted hem by S.

¹⁵ pope þat hap ful power to graunte hem þe S.

¹⁶ aȝe Ch S.

¹⁷⁻¹⁷ om. C.

¹⁸ þanne C.

¹⁹ releced A C Ch S.

²⁰ þeus Ch.

²¹ om. C.

- & contrite . & as longe tyme as þis synne leueþ & dwelliþ in freres hit semeþ þat þei mowe nouzt be verrey repentaunt, but þei restore azen¹ to persoons as forþ as þei mowe, þat þei haueþ wipdrawe . & so it semeþ þat while freres restoreþ nouzt azen¹
- 5 þese² rihtes, þei mowe nouzt be verrey repentaunt³, for þei bep nouzt dewe⁴ to þe⁵ freres by mannes lawe, pouz þei haue graunt of þe pope. Who is verrey repentaunt of wrongful⁶ & euel getyng⁶ of eny þinge, & is proude & glad of þe holdyng? No man as hit semeþ for to deme skilfullich. Þanne freres þat pre-
- 10 sumptuouslich holdeþ & kepeþ þese priuyleges bep y-wrapped & y-snarled in þe forseide dedlich synnes.
- Also þis licence & leue in a caas þat is y-liche, Seynt Bernard tretip in þe secunde pistle to Adam þe monk . Þe caas is þat þis monk after his professioun þat he made to dwelle þere
- 15 alwey to his lyues ende, as me seiþ, went with his abbot to anoþer abbay & dwellide þere by heeste & leue of his abbot, & perto he axide⁷ & hadde leue of þe pope; but Seynt Bernard repreueþ hym & fondeþ to preue by many* maner resone⁸, þat
- 20 noper by leue of þe pope whos leue he schuld nouzt axe. Þat forto preue, he takip oon principle þat Aristotle discreueþ & setteþ, 3^o ethicorum, þat is þis: þat somme dedes bep so good þat þei mowe nouzt be euel y-do; & somme bep so euel⁹ þat¹⁰ þei mowe nouzt be wel y-do¹¹, & somme bep mene bitwene þese
- 25 tweyne & mowe be wel y-do, & mowe also be euel y-do. Of þe first he setteþ ensauple: charite, feip,¹² & hope. Of þe secunde: peefþe, manslauzt, incest, & siche maner dedes. Of þe þridde: redyng, fastyng, & somme maner dedes, þat may be do wel oper euel as þe condiciouns bep þat longeþ perto.
- 30 Hit semeþ þat onlich in siche dedes obedience hap place. He supposeþ þis & axeþ in what degre was þat dede, in þe¹³ whiche dede he dide þe¹⁴ abbotes heeste, & seiþ þat hit was in þe secunde

The sin of friars in holding what is not theirs.

They are wrapped and snarled in deadly sins.

Such a case is treated by St. Bernard, in Adam the monk.

Fol. 17 a

To prove this the principle of Aristotle is used. The three kinds of deeds.

¹ aze Ch S.

² þeus Ch.

³ repentaunt and contrite C.

⁴ þewe Ch S.

⁵ om. A C.

⁶⁻⁸ om. C, but mater is written.

⁷ axed leue C.

⁸ resons A C.

⁹ euel I doo C.

¹⁰ þat þat A.

¹¹ om. C.

¹² fey A C Ch S.

¹³ om. A.

¹⁴ his A C Ch S.

degre of euel dedes þat myȝt nouȝt be wel y-do; & concludeþ þerof as hym¹ semeþ þat it myȝt nouȝt be wel y-do. & perfore in þat dede he schulde nouȝt do his abbotes heste, but he schuld wipstonde him pleyliche in sich a dede þat is euel of hit-self, & so he schuld holde his avowe & wipstonde his abbot in sich a⁵ maner dede. Also he settiþ for a reule, þat ȝif tweyne hotep contrarie dedes, his heeste² schal be do þat is more worpi; & God hotep þat avowe & obedience to hym schuld be y-holde. Þanne ȝif his abbot þat is nouȝt so worpi as God, hotep to breke þe avowe³, he schal be obedient to God & nouȝt to⁴ do his¹⁰ abbotes heeste. Also Seynt Bernard aleiþ þat oure Lord seiþ. Mathei 18^o c^o.: 'Who þat slaundriþ oon of pese litel þat trowiþ in me, hit is spedeful to him þat a grete stoon be hongide aboute his nek, &⁵ be adreynt in þe depnesse of þe see. Wo þe worlde wip slaundre; hit is nedeful þat slaundre come, but¹⁵ wo þat man by whom slaundre comeþ.' And herto Bernard seiþ þat Adam þe monke in forsaking his abbay, nouȝt onlich slaundred oon of Cristes smalle children, but many & fale. Hereby as him semeþ, he concludeþ⁶ þat þis⁷ monke⁶ fil into þat wo þat oure Lord spake of, for he dide his abbotes heeste²⁰ in þat cause⁸. & wolde God þat freres wolde take hede in what maner in al holy chirche þei slaundrep fewe & many, smale & grete, by þe mys vse of pese priuyleges; & perby þei myȝt holilich conclude⁹ to-for God what þei bep worpi. And pere Seynt Bernard telleþ many opere pingis. And touching þe pope²⁵ þat graunteþ leue, he seiþ: 'Who denyep þat hit is euel to assente to euel? Þat wolde y nouȝt trowe þat þe pope dide but he were begiled wip lesyng¹⁰ oper ouercome wip gredynesse.' Þis is Seynt Bernardes sentence. Pese freres take¹¹ þei hede, wheper¹² hit be nouȝt aȝenus þe licence & leue þat¹³ was I-pur-³⁰ chased for Adam þe monk; and conclude¹⁴ þei wip Seynt Bernard þat þe synne of procuryng of leue wip¹⁵ vnboxumnesse

In this case the friar sinned because he obeyed his abbot rather than God.

St. Bernard to prove this uses, Matthew 18 : 6, 7.

Friars slander few and many, small and great, by the misuse of privileges.

Friars should take heed against this warning by St. Bernard.

¹ hit A C.

² hestes C.

³ vow C : avow³ S.

⁴ om. A C Ch S.

⁵ & he A C Ch S.

⁶⁻⁸ om. C.

⁷ þe A.

⁸ case Ch : caas S.

⁹ miȝte conclude holyliche S.

¹⁰ lesynges S.

¹¹ takeþ C.

¹² where CS.

¹³ þat hey habbeþ y-purchased as it is aȝenste þe sentence & leue þat S.

¹⁴ concluded C.

¹⁵ wip þe A C.

& breking of her owne reule, bryngeþ to hem euel quytyng¹, as Seint Bernard seiþ in þe same maner doying of Adam þe monk. Also euerech frere whanne he prechiþ oper hereþ schriftes myzt leue hit, 3if he wolde, wiþ-oute eny synne.

5 Panne it semeþ þat he² takip þat office wilfullich *agenus* his owne professioun. And so as it is schewide toforhond þat in þe procuring of priuyleges, þe procuratours synnede dedlich *agenus* alle Goddes heestes³ þat þere⁴ bep rehersed; so þis⁵ synneþ⁶ dedlich *agenus* þe same heestes of God, for he vseþ wilfulliche
10 þe leue þat is wickedlich y-procured, and is⁷ infect wiþ þe The deadly synne of iniurie & of wrong,^{*} & vnobedience & vnbuxumnesse, Fol. 17 b of couetise, & of pride; for hit semeþ þat he vsip þe leue þat
is y-procured for þe same cause, for þe whiche cause hit was
y-procured, þat is for riches &⁸ worschip⁹. Þe pridde cause
15 is nouzt of þe¹⁰ outrage of þis licence & leue, þou3¹¹ þere be þerof comyn diffamacioun among lewed & lered¹².

Of þis mater of priuyleges & of þe mysyse þerof, & how þei bep contrarie to þe professioun of freres touchyng þe twey conclusiouns þat ich haue y-schewide, þis is ynow3¹³, at þis tyme.
20 Many opere pinges y schal telle herto 3if hit nedep. And y drede nouzt þou3¹⁴ ich wolde nomore þerof. Opere men wole¹⁵ not leue touchyng al þis þat ich haue y-axed & y-schewide, & 'holy fader demeþ nouzt by þe face, but riztful dome 3e deeme'.
By 3oure owne holynesse, oper by opere þat bep my lordes þe
25 cardynals, & honging þe ple suspendeþ in alle poyntes þe vse of þe priuyleges, þat touchip þe mater þat ich haue y-touched & declareþ¹⁶ þe forseide constitucioun, 3if it semeþ riztful.

Þat oure Lord Ihesus in his conuersacioun of manhed, alwey
was pore, nouzt for he wolde oper louede pouert by cause of hit
30 silf; but for touchyng þe¹⁷ pouert þat oure Lord suffred, myn¹⁸ aduersaries & ich bep nouzt contrarie, but touchyng þat y

¹ couetyngge S.

² þei in H and crossed out.

³ heste C.

⁴ om. C.

⁵ þese A C Ch S.

⁶ synweþ Ch.

⁷ þis S.

⁸ & for C.

⁹ pouert C.

¹⁰ here S.

¹¹ þey S.

¹² lered & lewed CS.

¹³ I-now for me S.

¹⁴ þei A C: þey3 Ch S.

¹⁵ wolde CS.

¹⁶ declared C.

¹⁷ of A C.

¹⁸ mynd C: my S.

sins when Friars disobey God, and procure privileges for riches.

This is enough at this time touching the two conclusions.

The first conclusion: that Jesus did not love poverty because of itself.

No man
loves
wretched-
ness for
itself.

The effect of
sin is not
worthy to
be loved of
itself.
Poverty is
the effect of
sin.
This is
proved thus
in the case
of our fore-
fathers.

No privation
of good
having is
worthy to be
loved of
itself alone.
Riches is
good having
and worthy
to be loved
of God for
he is rich in
all things.
Poverty is
evil.

The second
conclusion:
Our Lord
never
begged wil-
fully.

seide also þat he loued noȝt pouert for hit-silf. Þis particle
y preue first, for it is wrecchednesse to be pore & no man loueþ
wrecchidnesse for hit-silf; þanne no man loueþ pouert for hit¹
silf. Also by Aristotles loore, *primo ethicorum*, noþinge is
worþi to be loued for hit-silf, but what schuld be take & 5
y-loued, þouȝ² al profit were away þat longeþ þerto. Sich is
nouȝt pouert þouȝ³ men deserue mede by þe suffraunce of pouert.
ȝit ȝif no profit schuld⁴ come by suffraunce of pouert, pouert⁵
schuld nouȝt be loued & y-holde of God, noþer of man, noþer
of þe deuel of helle; þanne Crist loued neuer pouert for hit-silf 10
aloon. Also noon effect of synne is worþi to be loued for hit-
silf aloon þouȝ hit be loued in herte þat is infect⁶; but pouert
is þe effect of synne; þanne pouert is nouȝt worþi to be loued
for hit-silf aloon. Þat pouert is þe effect of synne, y preue hit,
for ȝif oure forme fader & moder hadde neuer y-synned⁷, schuld 15
neuer haue⁸ be pore man of oure kynde. Also no priuacioun
of good hauyng is worþi to be loued for hit-silf aloon. And by
Aristotles reule in *topicis*⁹, purpos is seide of purpos & þe con-
trarie of þe contrarie. So þat ȝif þe hauyng is good þe priua-
cioun is euel; and ȝif þe priuacioun is good þe hauyng is euel. 20
But riches is good hauyng & worþi to be loued¹⁰ of God, for
he is richest¹¹ of alle, & pouert is contrarie & ys priuacioun of
riches¹²; þanne pouert is euel; þanne pouert is noȝt worþi to be
loued for hit-silf aloon. For to abide longe about þe¹³ preuyng¹⁴
herof, hit semeþ me¹⁵ to childlich a dede, for y trowe þat no 25
man seiþ þe contrarie but hit be for defaute¹⁶ of philosophie
oper of logik.

Þe secunde conclusioun was þis: oure Lord Ihesus neuer beggide
wilfullich. Þis conclusioun y preued first in þis maner. ȝif he
had wilfullich beggide he had y-do aȝenus Goddes heeste þat seiþ: 30
'þou schalt nouȝt coueite þi¹⁷ neiȝbores hous, noþer desire¹⁷ his

¹ hym C.

² þei AC: þeiȝ Ch S.

³ þeiȝ A Ch: þei C.

⁴ schal C.

⁵ om. C.

⁶ in effecte C.

⁷ y-synwed Ch.

⁸ om. A C Ch S.

⁹ thopicis A C Ch S.

¹⁰ loved for it self C.

¹¹ richesse C: rychchest Ch.

¹² richesess S.

¹³ om. C.

¹⁴ reprefyng C.

¹⁵ diffauȝte A: þe defaute C.

¹⁶ þyn A C Ch.

¹⁷ after desire the words to serde
are written and crossed out C.

- wif, noþer his seruauunt man, noþer womman, noþer¹ his oxe, noþer his asse, noþer any pyng pat is his.' Exodi 20^o c^o. But he þat beggþ wilfulliche axep & he desireþ his neiȝbores pyng. Þanne he þat beggþ wilfullich doþ aȝenus Goddes heeste, & no
 5 man dar² telle þat Crist dide aȝenus Goddes heeste. Also ȝif Crist had y-beggide wilfullich, he had y-broke anoper heeste of God þat seiþ: * 'In al wise a nedy man & begger schal nouȝt
 be among ȝow.' Deuteronomii 19^o c^o. For he þat suffreþ opere men to be vnarmed while he myȝt helpe hem of armure, brekip
 10 þe kynges lawe³ þat hoteþ, þat in þe cite schuld be⁴ no man vnarmed; & nouȝt onliche he brekip þat lawe, but also he þat myȝt abide y-armed & þroweþ his armure into a depe ryuer. Also þis⁵ prest⁶ þat makip hym-silf wilfulliche vnmyȝty & vnable to offre ȝiftes & sacrifices for synnes,⁷ brekip þe lawe of
 15 hooly chirche þat hoteþ þat he schuld offre ȝiftes & sacrifice⁸ for synnes⁷. I trowe þat no man dar⁹ say of oure Saueour þat he brake Goddes heeste. Þanne he neuer beggide wilfulliche noþer made hym silf fulful beggere, & no man may feyne þat the forseide heeste is cerymonial to be vsed among þe¹⁰ Jewes
 20 aloone. For hit is verrey moral longynge to good þewes & harder¹¹ y-chargide¹² in þe newe¹³ þanne in þe olde lawe; for¹⁴ Luce xi^o, oure Saueour hoteþ & seiþ: 'What is ouer þat nedip ȝeue almes dede, & lo! alle þinges bep clene.' Þere hit is y-hote, þat¹⁵ leueþ ouer þat nedip schuld¹⁶ be y-ȝeue¹⁶; for no
 25 begger schulde be amonge þe peple noþer eny man in al wise nedy schuld be amonge þe peple.
- And who þat¹⁷ holdeþ nouȝt þis heeste is¹⁸ manassed with peyne withoute ende, Mathei 25^o c^o: 'In þis manere ich was an-hungred & ȝe ȝaf me nouȝt to ete,' & so forth: 'Gop
 30 acursed into þe fuyre wip-outen ende þat is ordeyned to þe deuel & to his angels.' And so it is cleere þat Cristen men

He would have discharged God's command, Exodus 20:17. He that begs wilfully desires his neighbour's things, which is against God's commands. Christ never disobeyed God's command. Another command of God. Deut. 15:11. The king's law. The law of holy Church in regard to gifts and sacrifices.

Christ's command as to alms. Luke 11:41.

No beggar should be among the people, nor needy men.

Matt. 25:35, 41.

Christian men are to

¹ om. C.

² þar Ch.

³ lawes C.

⁴ om. A C.

⁵ þes A Ch.

⁶ preostes C.

⁷⁻⁷ om. C.

⁸ sacrifices A S.

⁹ þar Ch.

¹⁰ om. A C.

¹¹ harder I-have C.

¹² y charged & y hote S.

¹³ newe lawe A: lawe newe C.

¹⁴ om. C.

¹⁵ þat þat S.

¹⁶⁻¹⁶ bey ȝeue A.

¹⁷ so C.

¹⁸ ys ys Ch.

suffer no
beggars
among them.
Christ was
subject to
the Em-
peror's law,
for he paid
tribute.
Matt.
17: 24-7.

He also
commanded
to pay tri-
bute to the
Emperor.
Matt.
22: 17-21.

Christ was
subject
to the
law, as he
was subject
to his father
Joseph.
By the Em-
peror's law
no beggar
should be
in the city.
If Christ had
begged wil-
fully he had
broken the
Fol. 18 b
law of his
neighbour.
This he
never did.

bep harder y-bounde to suffre no beggers among hem, þan men vnder þe¹ olde lawe. Also Crist was suget to þe Emperours lawe, for he payed tribute to þe Emperour, Mathei 17^o c^o: 'Whanne² þei come³ to Cafarnaun⁴, þei þat feng þe tribute come to Petre & seide: "þoure mayster hap nouzt y-payed⁵ tribute": "no," quop⁶ Petre. And whanne þei come into þe⁶ hous Ihesus spake raþer þan he, & seide: "Symon what semep þee, of whom fongep kynges tribute, of her owne children oper of alyens?" "Of alyens," quop⁷ Petre. "þanne þe children bep fre," quop Ihesus, "þat we sclaunder hem nouzt. Go to þe see¹⁰ & prowē in⁷ an hook, & þe first fisch þat comeþ vp take hym & open his mouþe, & þou schalt fynde a stater, a pingē þat weyep half⁸ an vnce; take þou þat & ȝeue hit hem for me & for þee". Pis is y-write þere. Also he demed þat me schuld paye tribute⁹ to þe Emperour, for men axide of hym¹⁰ & seyde: 'Ys¹⁵ hit lawful to ȝeue tribute to¹¹ þe emperour¹¹ oper no?' & schewide a peny þat had þe printe of þe Emperours ymage & of his name; & Ihesus answerde hem & seide: 'Payep to þemperour what is his, & to God payep¹² what is his.' Mathei 22^o c^o. & it were nouzt¹³ semeliche þat he wolde deme þat²⁰ lawe to be holden as comyn lawe, ȝif he wolde nouzt be vnder þat lawe; þanne he wolde be suget to þat lawe as he was suget to Joseph þe carpenter. Myche more as it semep he wolde be suget to þe Emperours lawe, þat was lawe of kynde, by þe which lawe no myȝty beggers schulde dwelle in citees; miche²⁵ more noon¹⁴ wilful beggers schulde dwelle¹⁵ in citees.

Also ȝif Crist had wilfullich y-begged, he had y-broke þe lawe of þe neizbore wip his beggyng; for he þat louep his neizbore verreilich as him-silf, greueþ him nouzt vnskilfullich, as he wolde nouzt þat¹⁶ his neizbore greued hym vnskilfullich*. ³⁰ And he þat axeþ of his neizbore vnskilfullich his neizbores goode wip-out nede, greueþ his neizbore vnskilfullich; þanne Crist

¹ ye C.

² om. C.

³ comen A C Ch.

⁴ Capharnaun A C Ch S.

⁵ quod C: seyde S.

⁶ om. Ch S.

⁷ om. C.

⁸ al A C: hal Ch.

⁹ om. C.

¹⁰ hem C.

¹¹⁻¹¹ þemperour S.

¹² om. A C S.

¹³ nouþe C.

¹⁴ no A C S.

¹⁵ om. Ch.

¹⁶ om. C.

dide so neuer. Also Holy Writ seiþ þat þe pore schal be hated of his neiþbore. *Prouerbiorum* 14^o c^o; miche more a begger schal be hated of his neiþbore. Þanne 3if Crist had wilfullich ¹y-begged, he had made wilfullich ¹him-silf y-hated ²of his neiþbores; þat semep nouȝt skilful but 3if pere were anoper skilful cause.

The poor shall be hated of his neighbour. Proverbs 14 : 20.

Also 3if Crist had wilfullich y-begged, he had y-sclaundred ³& diffamed ⁴his owne gospel, þat he conformed by myraclis; for hit semeth þat þei þat herde þis ⁵loore & syȝ ⁶his myraclis, myȝte skilfullich seye þat þei were iapes & wiccheecraftes raper þan verrey myraclis, for skilfullich euereche man schal raper help hym-silf þan anoper. Þanne how schuld þis ⁷feede foure þousand men by myracle & may nouȝt fynde hym silf mete ⁸, as somtyme whan he heng on þe cros þei scornede hym & seide: ¹⁵'Opere men he haȝ saued, hym-silf he may nouȝt saue. 3if he is kyng of Israel, come he now down of þe cros & we trowip hym.' *Mathei* 29^o c^o. Al o 3if Crist had wilfullich y-begged he hadde y-broke his owne lawe, þat echep ⁹þe lawe & þe prophetes. 'Al þat ȝe wollep ¹⁰þat men do to you do ȝe to hem. Þis is þe lawe and þe prophetes.' *Mathei* 6^o c^o. & no man wolde þat opere men greuede hym beggyng of hym wilfullich wipout nede; but so dop euerech begger þat beggеп wilfullich wip-out nede. Also *prima ad Thimothæum* 6^o c^o, Paul þe apostle dampnep her trowyng & her opinioun þat trowip þat beggerie & gaderyng ²⁵is holy myldnesse; & al þat Poul dampnep Crist dampnep by Poul, þat feng his gospel by reuelacioun of Crist, as Poul seiþ hym-silf, ad *Gal.* p^o c^o. Þanne 3if Crist beggide wilfullich he dide in his owne persone þat he dampned by Poul, & so he was contrarie to hym-silf; but it is nouȝt lawful so forto sigge. ³⁰Þanne Crist neuer ¹¹beggide ¹²wilfullich. ¹³Also 3if Crist beggide wilfullich ¹³he made a lesyng in dede; for as he þat spekip *agenus* þe soþe þat he knowip makeþ a lesyng ¹⁴in dede;

If Crist begged wilfully he then slandered his own Gospel, that he confirmed by miracles. This is shown in feeding of the five thousand. Also in his death on the cross. *Matt.* 27 : 42.

Matt. 7 : 12.

Paul condemns begging. *1 Tim.* 6 : 10, 11. Christ condemns the same thing through Paul. *Gal.* 1 : 1. Then Christ was contrary to himself, which is not lawful to say.

¹⁻¹ om. C.

² wilfulliche Ihated A C Ch S.

³ desclaunderd S.

⁴ Ifamed C.

⁵ hys Ch.

⁶ sey A : sye Ch : siȝe S.

⁷ þes Ch S.

⁸ a melis mete C.

⁹ he clepeþ S.

¹⁰ wole C.

¹¹ om. S.

¹² beggide neuer S.

¹³⁻¹³ om. C.

¹⁴ om. C : in speche so he þat dop agenste þe soþe he knoweþ, makeþ a lesyng S.

If Christ
begged
wilfully he
made a
lie indeed,
but God
forbid it.
If Christ
begged
wilfully he
was a very
hypocrite.

Christ was
never a
hypocrite.

If Christ
begged wil-
fully, then
Fol. 19 a
Clement,
Peter's suc-
cessor, erred
when he
tried to
crush out
beggary in
his church.
There was
no needy
man among
the apostles.

¹ but he þat beggeþ wilfullich wiþ-out nede & seiþ þat he is a begger & needy he ² makip a lesyng in ³ dede ¹; þanne 3if Crist beggide wilfullich he made a lesyng in dede, but God hit ⁴ forbode.

Also 3if Crist beggide wilfullich he was a verrey ypocryte, ⁵ semyng a begger, & was no ⁶ verrey begger, for Crist was neuer a verrey begger, for no man þat may haue y-now³ at his ⁶ wille, is a verrey begger, þou³ ⁷ he begge. But he is a verrey faytour, & he þat beggeþ wilfullich may haue y-now³ at hys ⁶ wille; for elles he beggeþ nouzt wilfullich, but he is dryue to ⁸ ¹⁰ by nede, and Crist was neuer ypocrite. Þanne Crist beggide neuer wilfullich, noþer as a faytour. Also 3if Crist beggide wilfullich, why wolde Petre þe apostle blame & repreue þe moder of his owne disciple Seynt Clement, for he found hir among beggers, & wende þat heo ⁹ had be strong y-now³ to ¹⁵ worche with hir hondes, as hit is y-write in Seynt Clementes lif? & Petre solewide Crist in þat doying. Þanne þei þat seyn ¹⁰ þat Crist beggide, moste assoyle pis questioun, but it semep þat þei mowe nouzt; þanne Crist neuer beggide wilfullich. 20

Also 3if Crist was a wilful begger, Clement ¹¹ þat was ¹¹ Peteres successour erred gretelich, for he trauailed wiþ al his myzt for no * beggerie schuld be among hem þat were turned to þe seiþ of holy chirche, & is specialiche y-preysed of holy chirche for þat dede, þou³ þese oper seye þat beggerie schuld make hem ²⁵ haue þe more perfeccioun. Also 3if Crist beggide wilfullich & 3if beggerie perteynep to þarfitnesse ¹² of lif ¹², why bade ¹³ Clement be obedient & luxum to þe lore ¹⁴ & ensaumples of þe apostlis, & among þe apostles & disciples was no man nedy? Þei ¹⁵ þat tellip þat Crist so beggide, most assoile pis ¹⁶ questioun; but hit ³⁰

¹⁻¹ om. A.

² & C Ch: om. S.

³ in speche, so he þat beggeþ wilfulliche wiþoute ony nede seiþ indede þat a is a beggere & nedy & makeþ a lesyng S.

⁴ om. S.

⁵ non C.

⁶ is S.

⁷ þoy³ Ch: þey S.

⁸ þerto C.

⁹ sche A C: he Ch: hue S.

¹⁰ seiþ A: seide C: syggeþ Ch: seggeþ S.

¹¹⁻¹¹ om. S.

¹²⁻¹² om. C.

¹³ het A C Ch S.

¹⁴ lere S.

¹⁵ om. C.

¹⁶ þes Ch.

- wole nouȝt be. & Clement so bade¹ in þe pistle þat was sent to James Bisshop of Jerusalem. And þat pistle is sett in decrees 12^o *dilectissimis*. Also ȝif Crist þat was & is heȝeste preste beggide wilfulliche, holy chirche erred witynglich whanne hit²
- 5 ordeyned, þat no man schuld fonge holy ordre wipout suffisauȝt titel of lifode, ȝif Crist hed of holy chirche tauȝte to begge by³ his owne ensauple. Also ȝif Crist beggide wilfullich he schlaundred þe ordre of clergi, for holy lawes tellip þat a bischop oper a clerk þat beggeþ dop dispite to þe ordre of clergie.
- 10 Also ȝif Crist beggide wilfullich, he made⁴ hym-silf suspect of synne for he made for⁵ hym-silf a schame⁶; for wilful beggerie is nouȝt meedeful for⁷ oper þing þan for schame; for⁸ þe begger hap but schame⁹, for hit is a lowe¹⁰ dede and greuous by cause of kyndelich schame þat longeþ þerto. Also in a
- 15 þarfit studios man falleþ no schame as Aristotle seiþ in 4^o *Ethicorum in fine*. Þanne in Crist was no schame, þanne Crist neuer¹¹ wilfullich beggide¹¹.
- Also ȝif Crist beggide wilfullich, wilful begginge perteynep to þarfitnesse of lif. Þanne he ȝaf vncouenablich þe olde lawe
- 20 & ordeyned þat prestes þat schulde be most þarfit of lif, schulde haue possessiouns & tepingis, ȝif hit were more¹² þarfit lif forto begge. Also al þe worlde vnder þe lawe of kynde erride, þat ordeynede prestes certeyn lifode of þe comyn bernes, as it is rad in þe ende of *Genesis*, ȝif it were more meedeful forto begge.
- 25 Also ȝif Crist beggide wilfullich, beggery perteynep to þe þarfitnesse of þe gospel, & holy chirche erride witynglich whanne þei fenge dowyng of chirches, & so wip-drouȝ¹³ þe þarfitnesse of prelates of holy chirche; and þat semeþ nouȝt lawful¹⁴ to me¹⁴ forto¹⁵ saye. But y not what þei wole seye, þat telleþ þe contrarie.
- 30 Also ȝif beggerie & begginge perteynep so to þe þarfitnesse of Cristen lif, as freres beggers tellip, hit is grete wonder why noþer Crist, noþer þe Holy Gost wolde vs enforme¹⁶ þerof in

If Christ begged wilfully, then the Church erred when it ordained that no man should take holy orders without sufficient title of livelihood. He also slandered the order of clergy. He also made himself a shame.

If Christ begged wilfully, then wilful begging pertains to perfection of life. Then the law of kind erred that ordained priests a certain livelihood. Wrong to endow certain churches.

Holy Writ does not give us any information on this matter.

¹ hete A C Ch S.

² he A C: a Ch. S.

³ om. A C Ch.

⁴ made fore C.

⁵ om. S.

⁶ aschamed A C Ch S.

⁷ for of C.

⁸ þat S.

⁹ om. A C Ch S.

¹⁰ lewede A C S.

¹¹⁻¹¹ beggede wilfulliche S.

¹² om. C.

¹³ drow C S.

¹⁴⁻¹⁴ om. C.

¹⁵ to C.

¹⁶ informe Ch.

Christ com-
mands his
disciples.
John 16:13.
Either the
Holy Ghost
forgot his
office or the
apostles had
envy of
those who
came after.

This is
impossible.
Then beg-
gary does
not pertain
to the truth
that the
apostles
taught.
The example
of Melchise-
dec,
Fol. 19 b
Hebrews 7,
who did not
beg.
Christ a
priest by his
order.

Christ bade
his disciples
not to beg
when he
sent them to
preach.
Luke 10:7.

somme place of Holy Writ. And hit may nouzt be skilfullich y-trowide; & y trowe þat from þe bygynnyng of Holy Writ to þe ende, may nouzt be y-founde oon notable worde, þat hit nys¹ seide to anoper menyng. Also Crist bihett his disciplis & seide: 'Whanne þe spirit of soþnesse comeþ, he schal teche 3ou al soþ-⁵ nesse.' *Johannis* 16^o 2 c^o. Þanne oper þe Hooly Goost forzate his office, whanne he come to þe apostles a Witsonday, for he seide nouzt to þe apostlis of þis beggerie, for þerof is nouzt y-seen in her dedes; oper þe³ apostles hadde enuye to hem þat schulde come after hem, & wolde nouzt teche hem þe soþnesse þat þe¹⁰ Holy Gost had 'y-tauzte hem. But no wise man wole saye þat þe Holy Gost had⁴ forzete his office, noþer þat þe apostles hadde sich enuye; þanne no sich begging noþer beggerie per- teyneþ to þe soþnesse þat þe apostles tauzte. Also what schal þei seye of Melchisedech þat was þe heigest Goddes prest &¹⁵ kyng of Salem? Poul praiseþ⁵ hym aboue Abraham, ad *Hebreos*, 7^o c^o. How was he so grete wiþ-out wilful begginge? Why was nouzt Crist a prest by anoper* ordre & nouzt by þe ordre of Melchisedech? For Melchisedech beggide nouzt as Crist whan he 3if his ordre. Þei þat telliþ þat Crist beggide schulde²⁰ assoille pese,⁶ 3if þei coupe.⁷ Also þe prophete seiþ in þe Sauter: 'Y syze neuer þe riȝtful man forsake noþer his childe begge & seche brede.' & Crist was most riȝtful; þanne it semeþ not skilful to bere hym an hond, þat he beggide & souzt brede aȝenus⁸ þe prophetes worde. Also 3if Crist beggide wilfullich, why²⁵ bade⁹ he nouzt hys disciplis¹⁰ begge? But he¹¹ bade⁹ hem þe contrarie, whanne he sent hem for to preche, and bade⁹ hem ete & drynke of þe mede of her trauail, & seide in þis maner: 'In what hous 3e comeþ, dwelliþ in þe same hous, & eteþ & drynkeþ siche as is þere; þe werk man is worpi his mede.' *Luce* 10^o c^o.³⁰ Also 3if Crist beggide wilfullich, he wolde neuer putte trauail before¹² beggery to gete his liflode¹³,¹⁴ he wolde haue vsed noon

¹ is C.

² John 6^o. A C.

³ om. A C.

⁴⁻⁴ om. C.

⁵ preysed A C Ch S.

⁶ þis A C.

⁷ koude C.

⁸ aȝenst A C S.

⁹ hete A C Ch S.

¹⁰ disciples forto A C Ch S.

¹¹ om. C.

¹² tofore A C Ch S.

¹³ for 3if he hadde þat beggerie tofore tranayle to gete his liflode S.

¹⁴⁻¹⁴ om. C.

- of þe craftes þat men vseþ to gete wip her liflode.¹⁴ Hit semeþ Christ gat his own livelihood with the work of his hands, for he was a carpenter, Mark 6:4, and so he used the carpenters' craft. þat Crist gat his liflode somtyme wip trauail and wip his hond werk¹; for he was nouzt y-cleped oonlich² a carpenters sone, but also he was openlich y-cleped a carpenter. Marci 6^o c^o. And
 5 for he was cleped a carpenter openlich among þe peple, hit semeþ þat for his liflode he vsede somtyme carpenters crafte wip Joseph þat was cleped his fader. For his conclusioun is now³ at pis tyme, til⁴ þe aduersaries inþugne hit wip strenger⁵ resouns.
- 10 Þe pridde⁶ was pis: Crist⁷ tauzt neuer⁷ wilfullich to⁸ begge. The third conclusion: Crist bigan to do & pis conclusioun is schewide in pis maner: Crist bigan to do & to teche. Actibus p^o. c^o. Þanne 3if Crist tauzt to⁹ begge & beggide neuer hym-silf, as hit is preued toforhond, þanne he was contrarie to hym-silf as hit semeþ in worde & in dede, 3if
 15 he tauzt ouzt þat he dide¹⁰ nouzt in dede¹⁰. þat is nouzt¹¹ probable. Also Crist beggide neuer wilfullich; þanne 3if he tauzt to⁹ begge wilfullich¹² he made hym-silf suspect of his loore as hit is preued toforhond in þe preuying¹³ of þe next conclusioun. It is not probable that Christ taught to beg, when he did not himself.
- Also he had sclaudred his owne gospel, as hit is y-preued pere
 20¹⁴ also; þanne he had y-tauzt to¹⁵ breke his owne riȝtful lawe¹⁶ as hit is preued pere¹⁴ in þe pridde argument. Also 3if he hadde tauzt to⁹ begge, he had tauzt to¹⁷ do aȝenus neiȝ alle þe lawes & resoun, þat heþ made for þe next conclusioun, þat preueþ boþe þis conclusioun & þat conclusioun also. Also 3if Crist tauzte to¹⁷
 25 begge wilfullich, Petre þat knewe¹⁸ his loore dide vnwiselich, whanne he aleyde þe medeful dedes & spake nouzt of þis beggery þat is so medeful, & hit were as þei telleþ, for Mathei 19^o c^o, Petre spekip to Crist & seiþ: 'Lo we haue forsake alle þinges¹⁹ & folewip þee'; & seiþ nouzt we haueþ y-beggide wilfullich for He would have slandered his own gospel, and would have taught to break his own law. Peter's statement shows that Christ did

¹ handework Ch.² oonlich ycleped A C Ch S.³ inow A C Ch S.⁴ forto A S: for C: vort Ch.⁵ certeyn A C.⁶ pridde conclusion S.⁷⁻⁷ neuere tauzt S.⁸ om. A C Ch: forto S.⁹ om. A C Ch S.¹⁰⁻¹⁰ om. C.¹¹ now C.¹² om. S.¹³ prechyng C.¹⁴⁻¹⁴ om. A.¹⁵ om. C Ch S.¹⁶ lowe S.¹⁷ om. A Ch S.¹⁸ knoweþ C.¹⁹ þyng A C Ch S.

not teach
begging.
Matt. 19:27.

The fourth
conclusion:
Jesus taught
that no man
should beg
wilfully.
Christ's
teaching in
regard to
the feast.
Luke
14:13, 14.
Who is not
to be invited
to the feast.

Fol. 20 a

Paul saith:
2 Thess.
3:10.

also
2 Thess.
3:14.

also
2 Thess.
3:7-10.
Showing
that men
should work
and not beg.

pee. & Petre seiþ nouzt so. Hit semeþ þat þe condicioun of
siche beggerie *pertheyneþ* nouzt to þe state of *parfitnesse*.

Þe ferþe *conclusioun* was þis: oure Lord *Ihesus*¹ tauzte þat
no man schuld wylfullich begge. For Crist tauzt as hit is y-write,
Luce 14^o c^o: 'Whanne þou makest a feest clepe þou þerto pore 5
men, halt & blynde, & þou schalt be blessed, for þei haueþ
nouzt wherof þei mowe quyte hit ² to pee ².' Þanne pore men þat
bep ³ stalworþe⁴ and stronge schulde nouzt be cleped to þe feeste
of beggers, for þei mowe quyte hit wip her *trauail*. Noþer riche
feble men, noþer riche halt men, noþer riche blynde men schuld 10
be cleped to þe feeste of beggers, for þei mowe quyte hit wip
her catel⁵. & for Crist rekenep nouzt deef, noþer dombe⁶, noþer
lame þat bep nouzt halt among hem þat schuld be cleped to þe
feeste of beggers, y see nouzt þatliche men schulde be cleped
toliche a feeste; * for⁷ 3if þei bep noþer feble, ne⁸ blynde, 15
ne halt, þei mowe go aboute⁹ & ¹⁰ begge¹¹ from place to place, &
so may nouzt þe feble, blynde, & halt; but freres settip þis expo-
sicioun among errorrs. Also¹² by his¹³ sentence of dome &
decree, Poul seiþ: 'Who þat wole nouzt *trauaille* schal nouzt ete';
& spekip of men þat haueþ no¹⁴ liflode in oþerwise, 2. Thess. 3^o 20
c^o; & telleþ þere what peyne þei schulleþ¹⁵ haue þat wole nouzt
be obedient to his wordes, and hoteþ in þis manner: '3if eny
man is þat wole nouzt be obedient to oure Lord¹⁶ by þis pistle,
takeþ hede what he is & deleþ nouzt wip hym þat he be aschamed
& y-schent.' & it is no drede þat þe apostle wolde nouzt hote 25
þat he þat wole nouzt *trauaille* schuld haue so grete a peyne, but
3if he dide a grete trespas in þat he wole¹⁷ nouzt *trauail*. &
þere he spekip of hym¹⁸ silf in þis maner: '3e knowep 3owre silf
how 3e most folewe¹⁹ us; for we ete noon ydel brede þat we
hadde of eny man, but we *trauaillede* bisiliche & wrouzt day & 30

¹ ihesus spak & A C.

²⁻² om. A.

³ ben C.

⁴ stalword Ch S.

⁵ trauaille C.

⁶ dome Ch.

⁷ vor Ch.

⁸ nor C.

⁹ om. S.

¹⁰ a S.

¹¹ begged S.

¹² also as S.

¹³ om. S.

¹⁴ none C.

¹⁵ schal Ch S.

¹⁶ word A C Ch S.

¹⁷ wolde A C.

¹⁸ hem C.

¹⁹ knowe C.

nyzt, for we wolde greue noon of 3ou alle. Nouzt as pouz we hadde no power, but we wolde 3eue 3ou ensauple in vs silf how¹ 3e schulde folowe us. For whanne we were wip 3ou we warnede 3ou & seide pat he pat wole nouzt worche schal nouzt etc.'

- 5 *Pere* it semeþ cleer y-nowz pat he wolde argue sippe², pat he pat hadde power as verrey apostle to take liflode of hem pat he tauzte goostliche, wolde nouzt take hit of hem, but trauailed & wrouzt bisilich day & nyzt for his liflode, for he wolde greue noon of hem alle. Panne mych more, pei pat haue noon sich
10 power schulde trauayle & worche for her liflode, for pei schulde nouzt greue opere men wip begginge.

Paul worked and did not beg, and yet he had great power as an apostle.

- And wold God pat pei pat puttip begging tofore trauail & werk, wolde take hede of Seynt Austyns book pat he made of pe werkes of monkes. *Pere* he tretip pis conclusioun nei3 from pe
15 bygynnyng to pe³ ende, & fondep to preue pat trauail schuld be put tofore contemplacioun. His resouns ich ouerpasse at pis tyme, but y schal brynge hem forpe anoper tyme 3if hit nedip.

St. Austin's advice to those who put begging before work,

- Also Holy Writ repreueþ & blameþ pe slowe⁴ in pis maner: 'How longe slepest pou, pou slowe man? Pou schalt but awhile

which I pass over at this time.

Holy Writ blameth the slow thus:

- 20 priste⁵ pyne hondes to-gidres forto reste lest pi nede come to pee as a storme of whirlewynde & beggery as a man of armes.' *Prouerbiorum* 6^o c^o; & *Prouerbiorum* 20^o c^o: 'Pe slowe man wolde nouzt erylle a wynter for cold; panne he schal begge a
somer & me schal nouzt 3eue hym.' & Holy Writ preyseþ
25 a strong womman pat takeþ pe spyndel wip hir fyngres. *Prouerbiorum* 26^o c^o. Herby it is y-preued pat me schuld nouzt begge, & leue trauail & werk.

Proverbs 6: 9-11, and Proverbs 20: 4. Holy Writ praises a strong woman. Proverbs 31: 19.

- And Seynt Fraunceys in his testament seiþ in pis maner: ' & ich trauailed wip myn hondes, & ich wole heizlich pat alle
30 myn freres trauail in werkes pat longeþ to honeste, and pei pat kunneþ nouzt schal lerne nozt for coueitise of mede & of huyre, but for ensauple of good werkes & dedes, & forto put away sleupe⁷ & ydelnesse. & whanne me 3eueþ hem nouzt for her trauail, pan pei schul go to Goddes borde & axe almes from
35 dore to dore.' Pis is⁸ y-write *pere*. And in his reule he seiþ

St. Francis in his testament says on this matter: He works with his hands and desires to do the same.

¹ om. C.

² seþpe A C S: suthre Ch.

³ om. S.

⁴ soule C: sclowe man S.

⁵ pruste A Ch S: jurste C.

⁶ on A C.

⁷ slewpe A Ch S: sloupe C.

⁸ om. C.

In his rule
he says:
It is a great
wonder,
therefore,
that friars
go contrary
to the advice
of their
founders.
Also man is
born to
travail.
Job 5:7.

Fol. 20 b

Christ would
rather use
miracles
than beg.
He sent
Peter to the
sea to get
his tribute
from a fish's
mouth.
Christ did
not beg
but told his
disciples:
Luke 10:7,
other
examples of
Christ's
doings
rather than
beg.

And so he
taught
us with
his works
that no man
should beg
without
need.
Christ told
his disciples,
Luke 10:7,

in pis maner: 'Freres þat haueþ of¹ þe ȝifte of² God grace of
trauail þei schulleþ trauaile trulich & deuoutliche.' Þerfore
hit is grete wonder wiþ what face freres dar³ vse wilful
beggery⁴ tofore trauaile & do þe contrarie of her founders
loore; & it is þe more wonder for man is y-bore to trauail, as
hit is y-write. Job 9^o c^o. & begging is contrarie to þe lawe
of þe firste ordynauns. Ȝif þat lawe were holde schulde no⁵
man begge. Also here-by hit semep þat Crist tauȝt þat no
man schulde begge wilfullich; for in his owne persone* he
wolde rap^{er} vse miraclis þan he wolde begge. For he sente¹⁰
Petre to þe see, for he schulde⁶ take þe stater þat⁷ he schuld⁶
fynde in þe fisches moupe, & paye hit to hem þat gadride
tribute for hym-silf & for Petre. & ȝet in þat caas so worschip-
ful a man as he was miȝt lyȝtlich haue⁸ y-gete a stater ȝif he
wolde haue⁸ beggide. Also oþere dedes preueþ þe same, & hit¹⁵
semep þat he wolde rap^{er} vse Goddes lawe þat seiþ: 'þe werk-
man is worpi his mede.' Luce 10^o c^o. & he⁹ seide to his
disciples: 'þe¹⁰ werk man is worpi his mete'; & het brynge
hym þe asse þat he sate vpon; & het ȝacheus come down, &
seide: 'ȝacheus hyȝe þou fast & come down for y mot dwelle²⁰
in þyn hous to day.' & þere as he þat had power he comaun-
dide & heet hyȝe faste & come down. Also whanne he was in þe
temple & byheld alle men aboute, whanne it was eue he went
out of þe temple into Bethanye wiþ þe twelue, Marci XI c^o,
& wolde rap^{er} vse þat riȝt þat¹¹ he wolde begge of any men. He²⁵
had toforhond preched in Bethany as þouȝ he had noȝt vsed þat
power, & wente to his frendes¹² & wolde þanne¹³ rap^{er} schewe
hym to hys fren es¹² þan he wolde begge of any men; & so he
tauȝt vs wiþ his werkes þat we schuld of no man begge wiþ
out nede. Also he heet his disciples whanne he sent hem forto³⁰
preche & seide: 'Gop nouȝt from hous to hous.' Luce 10^o c^o.
But hit is þe¹⁴ comyn cours of¹⁵ beggers forto go from hous to
hous. & in anoþer place Holy Writ forbediþ & seiþ: 'Be war

¹ om. A C.

² of þe in margin A: of þe C.

³ þerre Ch.

⁴ beggery oþer putte beggerye
A C Ch S.

⁵ om. A C Ch S.

⁶⁻⁸ om. C.

⁷ þe S—a hole in parchment of S.

⁸⁻⁸ om. A C Ch S.

⁹ om. C: hey S.

¹⁰ þat þe C.

¹¹ þan A C Ch S.

¹²⁻¹² om. C.

¹³ þo A Ch S.

¹⁴ om. C.

¹⁵ for C.

- pat pou be nouzt y-herbored from hous to hous. *Ecclesiastici* 29^o c^o. & in anoper place Holy Writt repreueþ siche a begger in þis maner: 'þe foot of a nice fool is litzlich in his neizbores hous.' *Ecclesiastici* 21^o c^o. & *Ecclesiastici* 40^o c^o: 'Sone be pou¹ nouzt nedy in þi lif tyme; hit is better be ded þan nedy.² A¹ man þat weyteþ anoper mannes borde, his lif is nouzt in pou t of lifode; he fedep his soule wiþ oþer men mete. A wys man & wel³ tauzt schal kepe hym-silf in þe moupe o a wise man & redy⁴; nede is dispised & fier⁵ schal brenne in his wombe.' Þis⁶ is y-write þere. Also for þe zong man schuld be parfit, Crist counsaileð hym sille al þat he had & zeue hit pore⁷ men & come & sewe⁸ hym. Þere wiþ-out drede, sewyng⁹ schal be take in maner of lyuynge. And þe seconde conclusioun seip þat Crist neuer beggide wilfullich; þanne Crist tauzt þe zong man to sewe⁸ hym & be parfit wiþ out wilful begging; & so he tauzte specialiche þat parfit men schulde nouzt begge wilfullich. Herof hit¹⁰ may be skilfullich concluded þat oure Lord Ihesus tauzt þat no man schulde begge wilfullich.
- 20 Þe fifþe conclusioun of þis mater of beggerie was þis: no man may redilich & holilych wilful beggerie vpon hym take euermore to holde. Þis conclusioun folewip pleylich of þe opere conclusiouns þat bep y-preued toforhond; for Crist & his apostlis & disciplis &¹¹ holy chirche & Holy Writt dispreueþ & repreueþ sich begging & beggery. Þanne¹² hit may nouzt be take¹³ rediliche & wislich in þat maner, pouz hit myzt be take¹³ in somme wise forto folowe God, as Mark for good entent kitt¹⁴ of his owne þombe, vnredilich & vnwiselich. Also he þat takeþ vpon hym beggerie, ledip & bryngeþ hymself into temptacioun 30 azenus þe lore of þe pater noster, *Mathei* 6^o c^o: 'Lord lede pou us nouzt into temptacioun.'¹⁵ Wiþ what conscience may a man praye God þat he lede hym nouzt into temptacioun noþer suffre him be lad into temptacioun,¹⁵ while he ledip hym-silf wilfullich

also
Eccles.
29: 24.
Holy Writt
reproves
beggars
thus:
Eccles.
21: 22,
also
Eccles.
40: 28-30.

Christ
advises the
young man
who would
be perfect.

Christ
taught that
perfect men
should not
beg wilfully.

The fifth
conclusion.

This conclu-
sion follows
plainly from
the preced-
ing.

He opposes
the teach-
ings of the
Paternoster
Matt. 6: 13.

¹ om. C.

² a nedy C.

³ awel C.

⁴ aredy C.

⁵ fuyre A C Ch S.

⁶ þat C.

⁷ to pore C.

⁸ sywe Ch.

⁹ sywyng Ch.

¹⁰ om. C.

¹¹ of A C: om. S.

¹² þat C.

¹³⁻¹⁸ om. C.

¹⁴ kut A C Ch S.

¹⁵⁻¹⁸ noþer suffre hym be lead into temptacioun C: wiþ what conscience may man praye hym be lad into temptacioun S.

Fol. 21 a
To take in
hand such
beggary is
temptation
according to
Solomon.

Default and
need driveth
a man to do
amiss.
Eccles. 27.
He who
takes on such
beggary
makes him-
self unfit
for the
priesthood.

He breaks
God's laws,
which are:

into temptacioun? What is¹ * gretter occasioun of temptacioun
þan take on honde sicche beggerie? For Salomon² prayeþ God
openlich³ &³ seip: 'Ȝeue þou me noþer beggerie ne⁴ riches, but
fulfild & tempte⁶ to forsake & sigge who is oure Lord, oþer be⁵
dryue for defaute & nede to stele, & forswere myn⁷ owne
Goddess⁸ name.' Defaute & nede dryueþ a man lizlich to do
amys. Perfore, *Ecclesiastici* 27^o c^o, hit is y-write: 'For
defaute & for⁹ nede many men haueþ y-do amys.' He þat
takeþ vpon hym sich beggerie, makeþ hym-silf vnable to þe¹⁰
office of prest & to ech¹⁰ holy ordre. For by the lawe of holy
chirche, no man may haue sicche a state wipout suffisaunt title
of mete, & drynke, & cloþ.

Þanne hit is nouȝt redilich but vnwiselich y-do to take on
hond sich beggerie. Also hit semep þat he þat takeþ vpon¹⁵
hym sicche beggerie, byndeþ hym-silf to breke þe lawes of God,
þat bep rehersed & aleggide¹¹ for þe secunde conclusioun of
Cristes beggerie. Þese lawes: 'þou schalt nouȝt coueite þi¹²
neiȝbores hous, noþer desire his wif noþer his seruaunt man
noþer womman, noþer his oxe noþer his asse noþer eny good þat²⁰
is his. In al wise a nedy man & begger¹³ schal nouȝt be amonge
ȝou. Al þat ȝe woleþ þat men do¹⁴ to ȝou do¹⁵ ȝe¹⁶ to hem.'
And neiȝ alle¹⁷ resouns þat bep made for þe raper conclusiouns
preueþ also þis conclusioun. Perfore as¹⁸ y seide in þe sermons
of þe whiche y made of mencion in þe bygynnyng of þis pro-²⁵
posicioun, y se nouȝt how þis opinioun of kepyng & holdyng of
beggerie was brouȝt yn but hit were for defaute of kunnyng of
Holy Writ; oþer me feyned þat hit schuld be like to *Cristes*
maner of¹⁹ lyuyng, forto gadre & haue þe more catel wip sicche
beggyng.

30

¹ is is C.

²⁻² om. A: prayeþ God, om. C.

³ om. C.

⁴ noþer C.

⁵ me C.

⁶ tempted A C Ch S.

⁷ my A.

⁸⁻⁸ goddis owne A.

⁹ om. S.

¹⁰ al A C Ch S.

¹¹ aleide A C S: alleyd Ch.

¹² þyn S.

¹³ a begger C S.

¹⁴ doþ C.

¹⁵ doþ Ch S.

¹⁶ ȝe þe same A C.

¹⁷ al þe S.

¹⁸ is C.

¹⁹ om. A C Ch S.

pe sixte conclusioun of þis mater was þis: hit is nouȝt of þe rule of¹ frere menours wilful beggyng to kepe & holde. þis conclusioun may be preued by open feip & trupe, for Seynt Fraunceys in his testament setteþ trauail before² beggerie & chargeþ so alle his freres. Also³ resouns þat beþ made in þe bygynnyng preueþ þis conclusioun, so þat þis rule be good & holy as hit is seide & preued in þe chapitre Exiit.

The sixth conclusion. Friars should not wilfully beg.

St. Francis put work before begging. This conclusion is proved by the above.

The seventh conclusion. 4th Pope Alexander's bull says: John the Pope says in his constitution.

pe seuenþe conclusioun in þis mater was þis: þe ferþe pope Alisaundres bulle þat dampneth þe libel of maistres wip-seip noon of þese forseide conclusiouns. þat is schewide in þis maner: for þe two & twentiþe pope Joon in his constitucioun þat⁴ bygynneþ, *Quia quorundam*, seiþ openlich þat þe pridde pope Nichol wipcleped þe⁵ bulle of þe ferþe pope Alisaundre touchyng alle þe articles þat his declaracioun conteyneþ. þe pridde pope Nichol declared how streyt schuld be þe pouert of frere menours. Also pope Nichol made declaracioun of þe trauail of freres & of her prechyng in a bischops diocess þere freres beþ wipseide. þanne pope Nichol fondede⁶ & wipcleped þat bulle of þe ferþe pope Alisaundre touchyng alle þe articles þat beþ conteyned þerynne. & ich haue no mynde of eny þynge conteyned in þat bulle þat wip-seip eny of þese conclusiouns.

The third Pope Nicholas declared that the friars should be poor.

Ich wolde saye myche more & argue agens me-silf & assoile þe argumentes forto conferme þat ich haue seide; but ich haue y-trauaylled ȝoure holynesse y-nowȝ & þe reuerence of my lordes þe Cardynals. þerfore ich conclude & pray mekelich & deuoutlich as y prayed in þe first þat y touched: 'Demeþ nouȝt by þe face but riȝtful doome ȝe deme.'

Explicit.

¹ of þe A C.

² tofore A C S.

³ also þe S.

⁴ þat he C.

⁵ þat S.

⁶ vndede A C S.

PART III

METHODIUS: 'þe Bygynnyng of þe World and þe Ende of Worlde.'

Harl. 1900

Fol. 21 b (1) In þe name of Crist here bygynnep þe book of Methodii þe bischop of þe chirche of Paterenis, & martyr of *Crist*, which he chargide to *translate* of Hebrue & Greek speche into Latyn, þat is, of þe bygynnyng of þe world & þe rewmes bitwixe, of folkis & þe ende of worlde, which þe noble man Seynt Jerom 5 in his werkis *praysed*.

The
creatures of
the heaven
and the
earth, Adam
and Eve.

For why it is to wite to us, moost dere breþeren, how in þe bygynnyng, God made of nouȝt heuene & erþe; & by hym alle pingis bep made, & how he made man, & helpe like to hym, & put hem togidre in *Paradise*. And cleped þe names of hem 10 Adam & Eue, whiche afterward by disseyte of þe serpent bigyled, þei bep cast out virgyns of *Paradise*. In þe XXX ȝere soþly

Add. 37049

Fol. 11 a In nomine Christi incipit liber Methodii episcopi ecclesie Paterensis martiris Christi. This tretys is drawn oute of Latyn into Ynglysche, þe whilk a holy bischop & martyr drewe oute 15 of Hebrew & Greeke into Latyn, & it tretys of þe begynnyng of þe world & of þe endyng, & also of pinges þat has fallen & sal falle.

It is to be knawen to vs, dere breþer, how þat God in þe begynnyng made heuen & erthe, & by hym al pinges ar formed, 20 & how he made man, & a helpe lyke vn-to hym & put þaim in *Paradyse*. And he cald þe names of þaim Adam & Eua, þe whilk afterwarde with þe serpent gylefulnes war disceyfed, & þai beyng vergyns castyn oute of *Paradys*. In þe thyrty ȝere, aftyr

Harl. 1900

after þat þei were cast out of Paradise, þei gendride Caym þe
fir st geten, & his suster Calmanam. And afterward in þe XXXII
þere þei gendride Abel, & his suster Delboran. In þe hundrid Cain slew
Abel.
þere & þritty of þe lif of Adam, Caym slow his broþer Abel, &
5 put hond vpon him. Soply, in þe CCC þere & XXX of þe
lyf of Adam, a sone is born to him Seth by name, to liknesse of
hym a man geaunt & grete. Afterward þei gendride sonēs &
dougþres. Soply in þe sixe hundred þere of þe lif of Adam, þe Fornications
and sins
arise.
sones of Caym bygunne to mysuse þe wyues of her breþeren
10 in many fornicaciouns.

þe eiȝte¹ hundrid þere soply of þe life of Adam, fornicaciouns
beþ ouermyche enlargide vpon erþe, & vnclennesis of þe sones
of Caym. In þe IX^e þere soply & XXX Adam is deed, & is Adam dies.
Seth settles
East of
Paradise,
and Cain
dwells in
Inde.
15 generaciouns of Seth beþ disioyned or departed from þe genera-
cioun of Caym. And Seth toke his cuntrey aȝenus þe eest into
an hil þat was next to Paradise. And Caym dwellide & his
kynrede, where he had do þe cursed slaughtre of his broþer in

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þai war castyn oute of Paradyse þai gat Caym þe fyrst son.
20 And in þe hondrethe & thyrti þere of Adam, slewe Caym his
broþer Abel & put his hande vpon hym. And in þe two
hundreth & thyrti þere of þe lyfe of Adam was borne his son
Seth, lyke vnto hym. And after þai gat doghtyrs & sonnes. In þe
sex hundreth þere of þe lyfe of Adam began þe sonnes of Caym
25 to myshuse þe wyfes of þair breþer in gret fornyaciouns of
lychery.

And in þe eȝht hundreth þere of þe lyfe of Adam war spred
abrode gretly fornicaciouns & vnclennes of þe childer of Caym.
In þe neyne hundreth þere & thyrti, Adam dyed & beryd in
30 Ebron, in þe fyrst þowsand þere of þe warld. Þan was þe
generaciouns, þat is þe kynredyn of Seth, * dyuyded fro þe Fol. 11 b
generacioun of Caym. And Seth toke his generacioun agayns
þe este in to a mownte þat is next vnto Paradyse. And Chaym
dwelt þer as he slewe his broþer Abel vnlefully, þat is to say in

¹ viij appears in left margin.

Harl. 1900

Fol. 21 b Ynde, in þe same place of Delicis¹ where rap^{er} pilke Caym made
(2) a cite, to which he put a name Effrem. * & þis is þe first
made before þe flode.

The sons of Cain wax wicked and unclean.
In þe fourtyþe zere, soply in þe tyme of Iareth, þe first
þousand of þe world passid. In² þe CCC & XL^o zere of 5
þe³ lif of Iareth, in þe secunde þousand of þe world, pere
were men wickid doeris & fynderis of worst crafte of þe sones
of Caym, & of al vncleennesse & filþe, þat is Obal & Tubal,
þat is to wite þe sones of Lameth þe blynde, which was
þe first blynde man, þat slow Caym. Þese fonden firste þe 10
werkes of bras & of iren, of gold & of silver, & of grindinge;
and þei firste fonde alle þe artes of musik.

They invent
works of
brass and
iron, &c.

And after VII^c zere of þe lif of Iareth, in þe secunde þousand
of þe world, myche malice bigan to wexe wors þan þe rapere
vpon erþe, which of vs is to be dispised & not to be seide. 15
Þanne þe sones of god coueitede þe douztris of men; and þe
The Lord is
angered
because of
their great
sin.
Lord God is wrope, & wip dolour of herte touched. He seide:
'It forpinkip me þat y made man; my spirit schal nat dwelle in
man, for þat þat he is flesch.' After þese þingis þe sones of God
bep entred to þe douztris of men, and gendride of hem geauntes 20

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Ynde, in þe same place of deliciousnes, wher he fyrst made a
cyte & cald it Effrem. And þis was fyrst byggyd before Noe
flodde.

In þe fourty zere of Jareth, in þe secunde² thousand of þe world,
war wykkyd men & of ylle craft, þe fynders of þe sonnes of 25
Chaym, & of vncleennes & filthe, þat is to say Obal, Tobal þe
sonnes of Lamech, þat was blynde, þat was first blynde man,
þe whilk slewe Chaym. Þir men fande þe werkes of yren & bras,
& gold & syluer to be made soft. And þir men fande fyrst
al þe craftes of musyk. And after seuen hundreth zere of þe 30
lyfe of Jareth in þe secunde þowsand zere of þe world, began
wars þan þe first for to grow mykil ylle & malyce opon erth,
þe whilk we lefe now on-spokyn of. Than our Lord God was

¹ Large 'I' written in red, three
lines deep.

² 'þe' above the line; 'his'
written and crossed out.

Harl. 1900

vppon erþe; & þei bep made most wickid vppon alle men þat
 dwelliden vppon erþe. And þe Lord comaundide to Noe þat <sup>Noah is
 commanded
 to build the
 ark.</sup>
 he schuld make to hym a schip & he schuld ilede his wife &
 iij sones wip þe wyues of hem, whiche he reserued (*or kepte*)¹
 5 in þe flowinge of þe flode. And þe flode is made vppon al erþe.
 And Noe toke of eche soule lyuyng, as wel of fowles as of
 beestis. And alle þingis þat were vppon erþe were kepte in þe
 schip. In þe VI^c 3ere & oon Noe is goon out of þe schip wip
 alle þingis þat were wip hym. And þan Noe offered sacrifice to
 10 god, & God blessid Noe & his sones.

In ² þe VI^c 3ere & XII of þe life of Noe, in þe þrid þousand
 of þe worlde Noe bigan to buylde agein newe possessioun, & his <sup>Noah's sons
 begin to re-
 build the
 earth.</sup>
 sones in þe erþe; & þei cleped pilke regiouns Tamun after þe
 cle*þinge of þe noumbre in which þei went out of þe schip. I. Fol. 22 a
 15 viii. In þe III^c 3ere, soply, in þe þridde þousand of þe world, ⁽¹⁾
 Noe gat a sone & cleped him Ionitum.³ In þe III^c 3ere & fifty <sup>His son
 Ionitum
 takes the</sup>
 after þe flode, Noe gaf þe lond Eocham⁴, þat is þe eest, into þe

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greued & bad Noe make a schip & bryng in his wyfe & his thre
 sonnes & þair wyfes, and safed fro drownynge of þe flode. And
 20 þer was made a flode opon þe erth. And þan Noe toke in to
 þe schip of al lyfyng þinges both of fewles & of bestes. & al
 þinges þer war oupon erth þay wer keypd in þe schip. In þe
 sex hundreth 3ere went Noe oute of þe schip with al þat war
 with hym. þan made Noe offerand to God, & God blissed Noe
 25 & his childer.

In þe sext hundreth & twelft 3ere of þe lyfe of Noe, in þe
 thyrd þousand of þe world, began Noe & his childer new * pos- ^{Fol. 12 a}
 session in erþe. And þai cald þos regions Tamnon after þe
 calling of þe nowmer of þaim þat come oute of þe schip, þat is
 30 to say eght. In þe thre hundreth 3ere in þe thyrd þowsand of
 þe world, gat Noe a son & cald hym Jonitum. In þe thre hun-
 dreth & fyfty after þe flode, gaf Noe þe lande of Etham, þat is

¹ Bracketed thus with red ink.³ Lat. Ionithum.² Large 'I' written in red, five
lines deep.⁴ Lat. etham.

Harl. 1900

land of
Eotham at
his death.They build a
tower, and
God divides
them.Noah's sons
divide the
earth.Nemproth,
son of
Jonitus,
builds
Babylon, and
the sons of
Cham make

lordschip of his sone Ioniti, & Noe is deed. Whanne pe dayes
of him were fulfilled pe 3eres were IX^c & L. After pe dep of
Noe, pe sones of hym camen in pe iii¹ pousand of pe world &
descendede into pe lond of Senaar, & pei bygunne to buylde
a toure to hem, pe heizpe of which schuld nei3 to heuen. And 5
pere God by his wrap diuided pat pei bigunnen to make, and
pei bep disparpled vppon pe face of al erpe, & pei bep diuided
vppon al pe lond. Jonitus soply pe sone of Noe entride into
pe lond of Eocham, pat is pe eest, whennus pe sunne springip,
& he dwelled pere, & he toke wisdom of God; & al astronomye 10
& sterres of heuene he fonde. Sem, pe sone of Noe, toke pe lond
of Asie. Cham pe lond of Meridie², pat is pe soupe partie vnto
pe west. Japhet entride aboute pe norpe, vnto pe see of Ocean.
And pei bep diuided into ech lond. Jonitus pe sone of Noe gat
a man geaunt & a stronge hunter. And pilke Nemproth, after 15
pe flode, buylde a tour pat is cleped Babiloyne. In pe VII^c
& zere in pe prid pousand pe grete Babiloyne is bilde. After pese
pingis soply, pei made to hem a kyng, pe sones of Cham, to

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to say pe este parte, in-to gyft of his son Ioniti. And Noe
dyed when he was neyne hundreth & fyfty zere. After his deth 20
in pe thyrd pousand zere of pe warld, his childer descendyd into
pe lande of Sennaar & began per to make a tower of whos
hyghnes suld towche vn-to heuennes. And per dyuyded God his
ire opon paim pat began to bygge it. And pai war sparpyld
opon pe face of al pe erth, & pai war dyuyded opon al erthe. 25
Jonitus pe son of Noe entyrd into pe erth of Eotham, pat is to
say pe este wher pe son sprynges vp, & dwelt per. And he toke
wysdom of God, & he fande al astronomy & pe sterres of heuen.
Sem pe son of Noe toke pe lande Asye. And Cham pe lande of
pe sowthe vnto pe Weste. Jonitus pe son of Noe gat Nembrot 30
a gret man & a strang hunter. And pat Nembrot after pe flode
byggyd a cyte pat was cald Babilonia. In pe seuent hundreth
zere in pe thyrd pousand of pe warld was byggyd gret Babilon.
And after pis pe sones of Cham made paim a kyng whos name

¹ 'prid' written in left margin.² Lat. meridianā.

Harl. 1900

whom þe name was Pontibus¹ which helde Pontum, & þerof he a king called
toke þe name. Afterward þe sonnes of Iaphet senten to Ionitum Pontibus.
men and gartis, men of heliynge & buylderis, & þei camen to
Ionitum in Eocham, & þei bilde to him a cite þat is cleped

5 Ionita. And þere was pees bitwixe þe kyngdom of Neproth & There is
þe kyngdome of Pontibus þe sonnes of Cham, þat hemsilf to- strife be-
gidre bygunne to figte. Whanne Ionitus herde he wrote a pistle tween the
to Nemproth þat helde Babiloyne. Þis was þe writ for þe rewme sons of
of þe sonnes of * Iapheth here bigyaneþ to do away þe rewme of Cham and
10 þe sonnes of Cham. Fol. 22 a the sons of
(2)

þese stryues firste apperide betwixe rewmes & rewmes vppon
erþe. Þe² VIII ȝere in þe IIII þousand of þe worlde, euermore
þei fauȝt, euereþer in figte, & þe rewme of Cham is ouercomen
agenus þe rewme of Nemproth. And þe rewme of Nemproth
15 gat þe maistere vnto Hesdrem þe kyng. Hesdres soply brent þe The king-
rewme of Cham & toke prisoneres alle þat were dwellinge, dom of
Cain.

Add. 37049

was Pontubus. Aftyrward þe sonnes of Japhet sent to Jonitum
men & craft-men of theker craft & byggers, & þai come in to
Eotham to Jonitum. & þai byggyd þer a cyte þat was cald
20 Jonita. And þer * was pees betwyx þe kyngdom of Nembrot & Fol. 12 b
þe kyngdom of Pontubi þe sonnes of Cham. And fro þan forth
þai began for to make batell ilk one with oþer. And when
Jonitus hard þis, he wrote a pystel to Nembrot þe whilk held
Bobilon. & þat was written for why þe kyngdom of þe sonnes
25 of Japhet began fro þine to do away þe kyngdom of þe sonnes
of Cham.

Her apperyd fyrst batels betwyx kyngdom & kyngdoms opon
erthe. In þe eght ȝere, in þe fourte þowsand of þe warld,
alway þai faght with manly power. And þe kyngdom of Cham
30 was ouercummen of þe kyngdom of Nembrot. And þe kyngdom
of Nembrot opteyned þe principalite vnto Esdrem kyng. Esdres
byrned þe kyngdom of Cham, & put in thraldom al þat war

¹ Lat. Pontipius.

² 'p' a large flowered letter in red, six lines deep.

Harl. 1900

Cusdrom
defeats

Iebuseos, Amorreos, Palestinos & Affros, þat were atte west. Afterward Hesdres gat Cusdrom þe kyng. þe sonas soply of Cham gadride hem-silf to-gidre, III^c & XX þousandes of fote men, & þei come into þe rewme þat was of Ioniti, þat þei schulde bete him down & fȳzte wiþ þe kyng Cusdro. Cusdro herynge, 5
the children
of Cain at
the Tigris
river.

lete hem aloon til þat þei passide þe flood of Tigre. Cusdro þe Kyng sent his oost wiþ olifauntis & slouz hem alle, & þanne rewmes þeþ armed aȳenus hem-silf togidre.

In ¹ þe XXV ȳere in þe V þousand of þe world Sannlab ² þe kyng descended of Eocham wiþ a grete oost, dispeplid many 10
Sannlab
overcomes
Inde and
Arabia

citees. & he passed into þe þrid rewme of men of Ynde. After þat he was turned aȳen from Ynde he come into Arabie, & he went into þe desert of Saba, in þe lond of Hismaelites, & he put pere castels or tentis ³, in þe lond of þe sonas of Ismael. And pere Sannlab þe kyng ouercomen of þe Sarasyns, & many 15
and defeats
the
Saracens.

þousandis fillen & flouen. And þan þe sonas of Hismael wente

Add. 37049

dwellyng, Jebusecs, Amorreos, Palestinos & Affros, þe whilk was at þe weste. After Esdres gat Cusdron þe kyng. And þan þe childer of Cham gydyrd þaim to-geder, thre hundreth & twenty þowsand of fote men. And when Cusdro hard þis he 20
left þaim to þai war past þe flode of Tygyr. And þan sent Cusdro his compeny agayn þaim with elyfantas, & slewe þaim al þat neuer one scapyd of þaim. And þan was þe warldes made bytȳr.

In þe fyft ȳere in þe fyfe þowsand of þe warld descendyd 25
Fol. 13 a

Sannsab Kyng fro Eotham with a gret compeny, & destroyed þe pepyl of many cytes, þat is to say seuenty & eght regions of hym. And he went vnto þe thyrd kyngdom of Ynde. * And when he turned fro Ynde, he come in-to Araby & went in-to desert Sabia in þe lande of Ismael & put þer his hostes of pepyl 30
in þe lande of þe childer of Ismael. And þer was Sannsab þe kyng ouercommen of þe Sarsyns. And þer fell þer many þowsandes & oþer fledde. And þan at fyrst went þe sonnes of

¹ 'I': large letter three lines deep.² Lat. Samsabus.³ 'or tentis' heavily underlined in MS.

Hart. 1900

- out firste of wildirnesse to stryue in batail. & þei entride into
 þe rewmes of folkis. After þat þe Lord byhiȝte to Ismael, þat in þe
 regioun of his breþeren he schulde ficche¹ tentis or tabernaclis.
 Þe castels or tentis² of hem was myche multitude. And þei The sons of Ismael over-
 5 bigunne to fȝte aȝenus þe eest lond & þe souþe. And þei bi- run the country even to Rome.
 gunne to make citees desolate, & þei made to hem naueyes &
 comen into þe west regiouns neiȝ Rome, & þei hadde lordschipe
 of þe * toure in þat tyme. Wherefore þei eten þe bodies & þe Fol. 22 b
 flesch of camels, & þei dranke þe blode of iumentis medled wip (1)
 10 mylk; & þei made of hem foure princis, Oreþ, ȝeb, ȝebbee, &
 Salmona. And whanne þei entriden vppon þe sones of Israel, They are defeated by Gideon of the sons of Israel.
 þe Lord smote hem pere & bitoke hem into þe hondes of Gedeon
 Hebrei, þe sone of Jonas. Pere were sopli an CXL þousand; &
 pere fillen þe princes of hem, & Gedeon persued hem vnto her
 15 cuntrey, & he delyuered alle þe sones of Israel of þe seruage of
 þe sones of Ismael. Soply þei beþ to come ones þat þei wite

Add. 37049

- Ysmael oute of wildernes to feȝht with batels. And þai entird
 in-to þe kyngdoms of folk after þat God beheste vnto Ysmael,
 þat in þe region of his breþer he suld fest tabernakyles; þair
 20 compenyȝ war gret multitude. And þai began to feȝht aȝayn
 þe este land & þe sowth. & þai began to make cytes desolate.
 And þai made þaim schips, and þai come vnto þe weste
 Kyngdoms nere vnto Rome, & þai had lordyschip of landes þat
 tyme. And þai ete vnclene bodys þat is of camels & hors, &
 25 þai dranke blode of bestes mengyd with mylk. Than made þai
 to þaim-selfe foure princes, Oreþ, & ȝeb, & ȝebbee, & Salmana.
 And when þai entyrd opon þe childer of Israel oure Lord stroke
 þaim euen per, & toke þaim in to þe handes of Gedeon Eberrie,
 þe son of Joel. Per was per a hundreth & fourty þowsand. And
 30 þe prynces fel downe per, and Gedeon persewed þaim to þair
 awn cuntre. And God delyuerd þe childer of Israel fro þe
 thraldom of þe childer of Ismael. It is to cum þat þai sal do

¹ Lat. figeret.² 'or tentis' heavily underlined in MS.

Harl. 1900

The sons of
Ismael shall
arise again,
but

shall be
overcome of
Christians,
and shall be
subject to
the Roman
Empire.

There is
strife be-
tween the
nations.

The sons of
Ismael in the
last six

anoper, & make þe erpe destitute; & þei schul holde regiouns of þe world wide, from risinge of þe sunne vnto þe west, fro þe souþe vnto þe norþe, & vnto Rome; & þe 3ok of hem schal be heuy vppon þe nolles of folkis. And þere schall not be folke eþer rewme, þat may hem azenstonde vnto þe noumbre of þilke 5 tymes. And afterward þei bep ouercomen of Cristen men, & to þe regioun of Romayns, þe sones of Hismael schul be vndercast. And þe rewme of Romayns schul be greet vppon alle rewmes of folkis, whan þei were to-gidre beten of þe empire of Romayns. Wheper þei regnyde not a M 3ere, vnsobre¹, & of 10 Romayns were ouercomen. Men of Babiloyne regnyde IIII pousand 3ere. Men of Macedonye tormentide þe rewme of men of Parthie wip armes. Men of Scithia & of Inde made meke to hem men of Affrik, of Spayne, of Fraunce, of Germanye, of Sueme, & Britouns fysteris wip armes þei gaten. And now este 15 þe sones of Hismael schule arise of þe wilderness, & þei schule azenstonde þe rewme of Romayns.

In² þe laste sixe pousand of þe world, soply, þe sones of Hismael schulen go out of wilderness. And þe comynge of hem

Add. 37049

Fol. 13 b

swilk ane oper lyke vn-to þis þing, & make destitute þe erthe 20 & opteyne al erthe & oper kyngdoms fro þe rysyng of þe son vnto þe weste, & fro þe sowthe vnto þe north, & vnto Rome. And þe 3ok * sal be greuous to al folk. And þer sal be no folk or kyngdom þat may feght with þaim, to þe nowmer of þair tymes. And after þai sal be ouercomen of Cristen men. And 25 þe sonnes of Ismael sal be subiect to þe kyngdom of Romaynes, & þe kyngdom of Rome sal be gret abowne al kyngdoms of folk, when þai er brokyn done to þe Romaine empyre. Than agayne sal ryse þe childer of Ysmael oute of wildernes, & withstande þe kyngdom of Romaynes, þe whilk scriptur makes mencion of 30 Australia brachia Danyel hoc preuidens³, & þai sal gayne-say þe kyngdom.

In þe laste sext powsand 3ere of þe world, sal þe childer of Ysmael go out of wildernes. And þair chastysyng sal

¹ Lat. uiri hebrei.

³ These five words are under-

² Large 'I' written in red, lined in red ink.
seven lines deep.

Harl. 1900

schal be as chastisyng wipout mesure & wipout mercy. And God hap betaken into þe hondes of hem alle rewmes of folkes, for synnes & * myscheues þat þei han wrouzt azenus þe comaund-
 mentis of God.¹ And perfore he hap betaken vs pollute to men
 5 of barbarie. Cristen men soply dop many vnleueful pingis, for
 þei defouliþ hem silf wip þat, þat is most foule forto saye.
 Perfore þe Lord hap betaken hem into þe hondes of Sarsyns.
 Persidia schal be in caitifte & slaughter. Capadocia also, þe lond
 of Sire schal be into wilderness, and þe dwellers of hit schule
 10 be led caytif. Cilicia also, & þe dwelleris of hit in swerde
 schul perische. Grece schal be in slaughter & caitifte. Auffrik
 also, men of Egipte & of þe eest londes, schul be vnder heuy
 tribute in siluer & gold of huge wigt. Spayn schal perische
 wip swerde & þei schule be led caytif. Fraunce, Germanie,
 15 Gyan², wip diuerse batails deuoured; many of hem schule be
 led caytif. Romayns schule be in slaughter, & turned into fligt.
 þe ylondes of þe see schulen be in dissolucioun. And þe sones

thousand
years of the
world, shall
Fol. 22 b

(2)
scourge the
world be-
cause of its
sins.
The Lord
punishes
Christian
people be-
cause of
their sins.
Saracens
overcome all
the nations.

Add. 37049

be withouten mesure & withouten mercy. And God sal gyf
 in-to pair handes al þe kyngdoms of gentyles³ folk, for
 20 synnes þat we wyrk agayns þe commandmentes of God.
 Perfor God has taken vs into þe handes of barbarynes of
 hathen men, for we hafe forgytten þe commawndmentes of God.
 Cristen men dos mykel vnlefull pinges, for þai fyle þaim-selfe
 with syn þat is fowlest to be spokyn. Perfore God has taken
 25 þaim in-to þe handes of Sarzyns. Persida sal be in captyuyte &
 in slaying & Capadoce also, þe lande of Syrie sal be made waste
 & þe dwellers of it put in thralldrom. Cicilia & þe dwellers in
 it sal perysche with swerde. Grek sal be in slaying & thralldom.
 Affrica also, Egiptianes & þe este, & Asia sal be vnder tribut
 30 greuous in siluer & gold. Spayne sal perysche with swerde & þe
 dwellers of * it put in thralldom. Frawnse, Germany, Agothaina, Fol. 14 a
 with diuers batels be deuoured & put in thralldom. þe Romaynes
 sal be in slaying & turned & fle in yles of þe se in dissolucion.

¹ In left margin a hand pointing to this.

³ Crossed out very heavily with red ink.

² Lat. Aquitania.

Harl. 1900

Even Jeru-
salem shall
be conquered
by the sons
of Ismael.

Evils of all
kinds shall
come to the
Church and
the people,
under the
rule of the
Saracens.

The way of
anguish.

Fol. 23 a
(1)

of Hismael schule holde entree from norþe, & eest, & souþe, & west. And Ierusalem schal be filled wiþ alle folkes þat schulen be led caitif. And þe lond of biheest schal be filled of alle men. Þe 3ok of hem schal be heuy vpon alle folkis, & alle þingis schulen be vnder þe 3ok of hem & in þe tribute of 5 hem. & alle ournamtis of riche men schule be of hem; and what þingis were in þe chirchis of halowes, eiper gold, or siluer, or precious stones. And alle ournamentis of chirchis schulen be of þe riche men of hem. And þei schulen dele þe mynisteries of God. And þe prestis schule be as þe peple, whan 10 chirches schule be brent. And þere schal be myche tribulacioun. And þei schul caste þe bodies of hem in þe stretis, for þat þere bep not þat schule burye. And þe weye schal be fro þe see vnto þe see. And regiouns schulen be wiþoute weye. And þe weye of hem schal be cleped þe wey of angwische. And þei 15 schule go to-gidre seruauantis & olde men, riche men & pore, wiþ affliccioun & weilynge, schule seye: 'Blessid be þei * þat

Add. 37049

And þe sonnes of Ysmael sal opteyne fro þe north, fro þe este, & fro þe sowthe, fro þe weste. And Jerusalem sal be fyld of al pepyll þat sal be led in captiuyte. And þe land of beheste 20 sal be fyld of al folkes. And þe 3oke sal be heuy opon al folkes, & þai sal be vndyr þe 3oke of þaim, & tribute.

And al þe anowrnmentes of ryche men sal be pairs. & þa þat was in þe kyrk of sayntes, owder gold or syluer, or precious stones. & al þe anournmentes ¹ of þe kyrk sal be pairs. And þai sal 25 distribut þe mynyster þinges of God. & þe prestes sal be as þe pepyll sal be, when þe kyrkes sal be byrnt. & þer sal be gret tribulacion. And þai sal cast þe bodyes of þaim in þe stretes or in þe ways, & none for to bery þaim. And þe way of þe Sarzynes sal be fro se to se. And regions sal be þe way, & þe 30 way of þaim sal be cald sorowe. And þai sal go to-geder 3ong men, ryche men, & pore men, & old men with turmentyng & sorow & þai sal say: 'Beati sunt illi qui de hac luce nos pro-

¹ Poorly written.

Harl. 1900

- wente before vs of þis list.' Seynt Poul beforseide þese þingis :
 'Whanne dissencioun comþ first, & þe sone of perdicoun, þe
 man of synne were schewid.' What is elles but dissencioun &
 discipline þurȝ which þe dwelleris of al erpe schul be corrupted
 5 of þe sones of Hismael. Þerfore God cleped Hismael, þe fader¹
 of hem, a wilde asse, þe prophete seiynge, wylde asses, & geet, &
 desert, þat is, & ech kynde of bestis vppon þe flok is rauysch-
 inge. Þerfore þei schule bytake al erpe into dissolucioun, &
 many citees schul be distried. Pilke men beþ not as oper
 10 folkis, but þei beþ þe sones of wilderness to-comynge, to men
 hateful. Here þe gaderinge togidre of hem, whan þei beþ to
 go out of wilderness. Wymen hauynge her birþe withynne,
 to-gidre þei schulen sle wiþ swerde. In þe chirchis of seyntis,
 þei schule ligge wiþ wymmen. And wiþ holy vestimentis of
 15 chirchis, þei schulen cloþe hem & her wyues. Her horsis þei
 schule tyȝe to þe sepulcris of seyntis, as to rackis. And grete
 tribulacioun schal be vppon Cristen men.

Dissension
and corrup-
tion in the
earth.

They shall
slay women
with child
and
desecrate
the Holy
Place.

In the midst
of this great
tribulation

Add. 37049

- cesserunt. Blissid ar þai þat went before vs fro þis light of
 þis world.' Þis Saynt Paule sayd before: 'Cum venerit
 20 discessio primum, & reuelatus fuerit homo peccati & perditionis.'
 What is fyrst departyng bot discipline, þorow þe whilk al þe
 dwellers on erth er chastyd of þe sonnes of Ismael. Þerfore
 Onagram deus appelaui Ismaelem. God cald Ismael þe fader
 of þaim a wylde asse. Þies pepyl ar not as oper folk, * bot þai Fol. 14 b
 25 are sonnes to cum oute of wildernes, & þai ar hateful to men.
 Here þe folewyng of þaim þat ar to cum oute of þe wildyrnes.
 Þai sal sla women with childe. And prestes in holy places þai
 sal kille. & in þe kyrkes of sayntes þai sal lyg with þair wyfes,
 and with þe holy vestymentes of kyrkes þai sal clothe þaim &
 30 þair wyfes. And þe bestes þai sal bynde at þe grafes of sayntes
 as it wer to a mawnger. And þer sal be gret tribulacion opon
 Cristen folkes þat dwels opon þe erth.

¹ In MS. after *fader* 'a' written and crossed out. In Lat. Onagram. The scribe evidently misunderstood the word, but wrote its meaning.

Harl. 1900

Christ shall
appear,

And þanne schul appere þe trewe men, þat ben to trowe in Crist. Not perfore, God haþ sent þese tribulaciouns, þat iustly þei be doon away, þat in Crist beþ to trowe, but þat þei be schewid, whiche in him most truly beþ to trowe. As þilk truþe itself seiþ: '3e beþ blessed, whanne þei haue pursued 3ou 5 for my name.' Þus sople þei pursuede þe prophetis þat weren before vs. But whiche dwelleþ still vnto þe ende, he¹ schal be saf. And after tribulaciouns of dayes, þat were made of þe sones of Hismael, and al þe erþe schal be dissolute of hem. And þei schule be cloped wiþ ournamentis, wiþ gold, & purpur, 10 & wiþ briht clopinge as of spouses, seiynge: 'þe Cristen men mowe not delyuere hem of oure hondes.' And ioiynge & of her victoryes seiynge: 'Lo we haue ouer-*comen þe erþe in oure strengþe, & alle þat dwellen in hit.' And þan þe Lord God schal haue mynde, after his grete mercy, þat he bihiȝt to hem þat 15 loueþ him & which beþ to trowe in Crist, & he schal delyuer

Fol. 23 a
(2)who shall
deliver his
people from

Add. 37049

And þan sal þai appere þe trew men þat ar to trow in Criste. God sendes not perfore þies tribulacions opon Cristen men, þat right-wis men be done away þat ar to trowe in Criste, bot þat þai be schewed þat ar for to trowe faythfully in Criste. As 20 Veritas ait²: 'Beati eritis cum persecuti vos fuerint propter nomen meum. Blissed sal 3e be when þai persewe 3ow for my name &c.' So hafe þai persewed prophetes þat war before 3ow. Bot he þat perseuers vnto þe ende he sal be safe. And after þe tribulacions of þe dayes þat sal be done of þe sonnes of Ismael, al erth 25 sal be made desolate of þaim. And þai sal be cled with ornamentes of gold & purpyll, & with schynyng clothes, sayng, þat Cristen men may not be delyuerd * fro oure handes. And þai sal ioi in þair victorys, & say: 'Behold we hafe ouercummen þe erth in our strenthe & al þat dwels in it.' Than sal rememmyr 30 our Lord God after hys behest, þe whilk he hyght to þaim þat lufs hym & ar to trow in Criste. And he sal delyuer þaim

Fol. 15 a

¹ MS. 'þis schal', 'he' inserted before 'þis'; 'he' left margin.

² Lat. Salvator noster ita niquiens.

Harl. 1900

hem of þe hond of Sarsyns. A kyng¹ forsoþe of Cristen men
 schal arise & schal fyȝte wip hem, & schal sle hem with swerde,
 and he schal lede þe wymmen of hem caitif. And þe children
 of hem schule perische. And þe sones of Hismael schul falle
 5 into swerde, & into tribulacioun & affliction. And God schal
 ȝelde to hem þe eueles þat þei haue do to opere. And as reyn
 þe malice of hem schal falle into hem, seuene tymes so myche
 as þei haue doon in opere. And he schal betake hem into þe
 hondes of Cristen men. And þe rewme of Cristen men schal
 10 be enhaunsed vppon alle rewmes. And Cristen men schulen
 put vppon hem an heuy ȝok, and þei þat remayneþ schule be
 seruauantis.

the hands of
 the
 Saracens.
 A Christian
 king shall
 deliver the
 people from
 the evils.

The king-
 dom of the
 Christians
 shall influ-
 ence all
 kingdoms,

And þan þe lond schal be peesid, þat of hem was destroyed,
 and whiche were taken prisoneris of hem schule turne aȝen
 15 into her lond. And men shule be multiplied vppon erþe. And
 þere schal be grete indignacioun to þe kyng of Romayns, vppon
 hem þat haue denyed Crist. And þere schal be pees & grete
 reste vppon erþe, which was not before neþer þere schal be like

and the land
 shall be at
 peace.

Add. 37049

fro þe handes of þe Sarȝyns. The Cristen pepyl sal ryse
 20 vp & fight with þaim, & sal kyll þaim with swerde, & lede
 þer wyfes in-to thraldom, & sla þair ȝong childer. And þe
 childer of Ismael sal descende in-to swerde & tribulacion &
 affliction. And our Lord God sal ȝeld to þaim þe ylls þat þai
 dyd to oper; & þer sal falle opoþer þaim seuene tymes als mykil
 25 malyce als þai dyd to oper. And God sal take þaim in-to þe
 handes of Cristen pepyll. And þe kyngdom of Cristen pepyll
 sal be exaltyd abowne al oper kyngdoms. & Cristen men sal
 put a heuy ȝoke on þaim, & al þat sal be left of þaim sal be
 seruandes.

30 And þan sal þe erth be made pesabyl, þat was dystroyed of
 þaim. And þai þat wer in captiuite & thraldom of þaim sal
 cum agayne in to þair awne lande. And man sal be multiplied
 opoþer erth. And gret indignacion sal be to þe kyng of Romaynes
 opoþer þaim þat denyed Crist. Egipcij & Arabes has denyed
 35 Crist. And þer sal be pese & gret reste opoþer erth, swilk as has

¹ A rude drawing of hand and finger pointing to this in right margin.

Harl. 1900

Gladness
and peace
shall be
upon the
earth.
Then shall
they be as
in the days
of Noah.
Then shall
come Gog
and Magog,
and the
people shall
be smitten
with great
dread.

Fol. 23 b
(1)

Terror shall
last for
seven years,

after hit, for þat þat hit schal be in þe laste ende of worldes. And 'þere schal be gladnesse & pees vppon al erþe, þei schulen reste from tribulaciouns. 'Whanne þere were pees & reste & sikirnesse, þan schal be sodeyn drede.' And men schulen be in pilke dayes, as þei were in þe dayes of Noe, etyng and drink- 5 inge, gladinge & ² weddinge; & in þe herte of hem schal not be drede. So schal be þe commynge of hem as Gog & Magog. & whan pees were þer, þanne þe zates of Caspie schule be vndoon in þe sides of þe norþe. & pilke folkis schulen come wiþ Gog & Magog. And al erþe schal be smyten to-gidre for drede of 10 hem. & þei schule bigynne to wexe pale for drede, alle men þat dwellen vppon erþe. And *þei schule hyde hem-silf in hilles and in spelunkis, from þe siȝt of hem. Of þe progenye forsoþe of hem beþ Iapht, out goynge ouer þe tentis of þe norþe. Siche þerfore schul ete þe flesche of men, & serpentis, & 15 iumentis; wynnmen wiþ lytel children þei schule ete. And þere is no man þat may aȝenstonde hem. And after VII ȝere

Add. 37049

Fol. 15 b not bene before, ne ȝit sal be lyk it afterward, * for þat þat it is in þe ende of þe world. & þer sal be gladnes & pes opoþer erth, & þai sal haue reste of þer tribulacions. Þis is þe pes of 20 þe whilk þe Apostil says: 'Cum fuerit tranquillitas & securitas; tunc ueniet repentinus interitus. When it is reste & sykyrnes, þan sal cum sodan dethe.' And men sal be in þos dayes as it was in þe dayes of Noe, etyng & drynkyng & weddyng; & þer sal no drede be in þe hertes of þaim. And 25 when pes is þus, þan sal be opynd þe zates of Caspy in þe syde of þe northe. And þai folkes sal cum oute with Gog & Magog, & al erthe sal be strykkyn for drede of þaim. And al men on erth sal drede & hyde þaim in mowntes, & caues, & dennes, fro þe sight of þaim. Þai ar of þe kynryden of Japhet; & a 30 plage sal go oute of þe north. And þai ete þe flesche of men, & serpentis, & bestes, & women with childer þai sal ete. And þer sal be none þat may feȝht with þaim. And aftyr seuen ȝere

¹ Large capital 'A' in red.

² Not in MS., but written above, with caret in text.

Harl. 1900

of pilke tymes þei schule take þe cite Iosephen¹. & þan þe Lord schal sende oon of his princis, & schal smyte hem with sulphur & fuyre vnder a moment. And þe emperour of Grece schal come, & schal sitte in Ierusalem VII ȝere. And þanne
 5 schal appere þe sone of perdicoun, þat is seide Anticrist. He schal be bore in Corozaim, he schal be norischid in Bethsaida, he schal regne in Capharnaum. Þerfore þe Lord seide in þe gospel: 'Woo to þee, Corozaim! Woo to þee, Bethsaida! Wo to þee, Capharnaum! ȝif þou be enhaunsed vnto heuene, til into
 10 helle þou schalt be drenchid.'

Afterward þe kyng of Romayns & of Grekis schal styze up in Golgatha, in þat place in which þe Lord vouched saaf to suffre dep for us in þe cros. þe kyng of Romayns schal do away þe croun of his hede, & schal put hit vpon þe cros. And he schal
 15 strecche abrode his hondes to heuene, & þe kyng of Cristen men schal betake his soule to God, & þanne þe signe of þe cros schal appere in heuene. After þese þingis þe sone of perdicoun schal

when the Lord shall send one of his princes to smite them with sulphur and fire. Then shall come Anticrist the son of Perdition,

when Rome and Greece shall fight, and the King of Rome shall stretch his hands to Heaven, and shall entrust his soul to God, when the sign of

Add. 37049

þai sal entyr in-to cyte of Iosaphen. And þan sal our Lord sende one of hys princys, & he sal stryke þaim with leuening
 20 & fyre in a moment. And þe emprour of Greke sal cum & sytt in Ierusalem seuen ȝere. And þan sal apere þe son of perdicoun, þat is to say Antecrist. He sal be borne in Corozaym, & he sal be noresched in Bethsayda, & reyne in Capharnaum as our Lord say in þe gospel: 'Ve tibi Corozaim! ve tibi Bethsayda!
 25 ve tibi Capharnaum! Wo be to þe, Corozaym! wo be to þe, Bethsayda! wo be to þe, Chapharnaum! for if þou sal be exalted vnto heuen, in-to helle þou sal be * drowned.'

Fol. 16 a

Afterward þe kyng of Romaynes & of Greke sal ascende in Golgatha in þe place, wher our Lord Ihesus Crist vouchedsafe
 30 to suffer deth for vs opon þe cros. And þe kyng of Romaynes sal take þe crowne of his hede & put it opon þe cros, & hold vp his handes vnto heuen, & zeld his spirit vn-to God, þe kyng of Cristen men, & þan sal appere þe tokyn of þe holy cros in heuen. After þis sal cum þe son of perdicoun, Antecrist. And he sal

¹ Lat. Ioppen.

Harl. 1900

the Cross
shall appear
in Heaven.
Then shall
come the
son of per-
dition, and
shall enter
into Jeru-
salem, and
shall sit in
the temple
of God.

Fol. 23 b
(2)

Then the
Lord shall
send his
servants,
Enoch and
Elijah, to
reprove the
enemy.
They will
show the
son of per-
dition to be
a liar.

come, trowynge him-self þat he is God, & þe herte of him schal
be enhaunsed myche, sippe he is a man of mannes seed, of þe
kynred of Dan. & he schal make signes & many merueilis vppon
erþe, þat blynde men se, lame men go, deaf men here, dede men
as þouȝ þei rise. And ȝif it may be do¹ þat chosen men be led⁵
into errors, he schal entre soþly into Ierusalem, & he schal sitte
in þe temple of God, trowinge hymself as þouȝ he be God. And
he schal be disseyuable, & by disseyte he schal begyle many
men. After þese þingis þe Lord schal sende his most * clere
seruauntes Enoch & Elye, þat in witnessinge of him were kepte,¹⁰
to repreue pilke enemye. And þanne þe laste schule be firste.
And þe Iewis schule be to bileue. Forsope Helyas & Enoch
schule repreue hym before al þe peple. And þei schule schewe
hym to be a liere, & disseyuable, & confused. Soþly alle folkes
seyng þe leeing hym forþberinge, & of þe holy men of god¹⁵
confused; & þanne þe Iewes schul bileue. Of ech kynrede of
þe sones of Israel schule be sleyn for Crist an hundrid XLIIII

Add. 37049

be trowed as he war God & he sal do many tokens and wonders,
dede men sal seme as þai rase vp, & blynd men as þai sawe, &
halt men go. And he sal entyr into Ierusalem, & sytt in þe tempyl²⁰
of God, semyng as he war God. & his hert sal be exaltid gretly
disputtyng as he war God. & he sal be fals & wyrk disceyfulnes
& begyle many one. He sal be of þe kynredyn of Dan, wher
of Jacob sayd: 'Fiat Dan coluber in via etc. Dan sal be a serpent
in þe way,² & cerastes in semita², & a horned serpent in þe strayt²⁵
way.' And after þis sal our Lord send his two seruandes Enoch &
Hely, þat ar left in his witnes to reprove þis enemy; & þai sal
reprove hym before al þe pepyl, & schew hym a lyer, & fals, &
confused. And when folkes sees þus confused & made lyer of
þin holy sayntes, þai sal do penance. And þan sal þe Iewes of³⁰
ilk a kynryden of Israel trow in Crist. And þan sal þer be
slayne for Criste a hundreth & foure & fourty þowsand in þais

¹ Blotted.²⁻² Not plainly written in MS.

Harl. 1900

pousandis in pilke dayes. Þane Anticrist, in woodnesse fulfilled, schal comaunde þe holy men of God to be slayn, & whiche to hem bep to bileue. And þanne schal come oure Lord Ihesu Crist, þe sone of quyk God in þe cloudes of heuene wip com-
 5 panyes of angels, & wip heuenly joye.

Anoon whan Anticrist is sleyn, þe beest, þe enemy, þe dis-
 seyuer, wip þe swerde of his moupe, & whiche þat han consented to him, þe endinge of þe world schal be, & þe dome schal be. Where of angels schule be, þousandes of þousandes & ten tymes
 10 an hundrid þousandis of archaungels, cherubyn & seraphyn. Þere þe companyes of holy men, of prophetis, of patriarchis, of apostles, of martiris, of confessours, of virgyns. Þere, soply, synneris & iuste men schule ȝelde resoun before þe sizte of God, as þei han doon. Þe iuste men schule be departed fro þe
 15 wickid; þe iuste men schule schyne as þe sunne, folewyng þe lombe of lif, & þe kyng of heuen euermore, seynge þe clerenesse of god in heuenes. And wip aungels þei schul be felawschipped for euermore. Vniuste men soply wip þe beest schule descende

Christ shall appear,

and slay the Antichrist, and then the end of the world shall be. In Heaven shall be a great company of angels, apostles, martyrs, just men, all following the Lamb of Life and the King of Heaven.

Add. 37049

days. And þan [sal]¹ Antecriste be f[ild]¹ with wodnes, & com-
 20 mande to sla þe sayntes* of God, & al þat ar to trowe to þaim. And our Lord Ihesus Criste sal cum, þe son of God, in þe clowdes of heuen, with compenys of angels & heuenly ioy. And onone he sal sla þis beste, Antecrist enemy & disceyfer, with þe swerd of his mowthe, & al þat consentyd vnto hym. And þe endyng
 25 of þe warld sal be & þe dome. Wer þowsandes of þowsandes & ten tymes hundreth þowsandes of archangels, cherubyn, & seraphyn sal be þer. And þer sal be compenys of sayntes, of patriarchs, prophetes, apostils, martyrs, confessours, vergyns, & of al sayntes. Þar sal be rightwisemen, & synners sal ȝelde
 30 a-cownte & reson before þe sight of God how ilk one has done. & þe right-wisemen sal be departed fro þe wykidmen. And þe right-wisemen sal schyne as þe son, fowlowyng þe lamme of lyfe & þe kyng of heuen, seying alway e clernes of god in heuen. & þai sal be felischipd þer to euermore. Þe wykkyd men sal descende

Fol. 16 b

¹ Torn away.

Harl. 1900

Just men
shall be
glorified,
but wicked
men shall
suffer pain.

into helle. Juste men, soþly, for euermore schul lyue, and wip
þe kyng of heuene schule be glorified or gladed. And wickid
men wipouten ende schule suffre peyne. Wherefore þe Lord
vouche he saaf to delyuere us, *qui eum precibus, &c.*

Explicit liber Metodij episcopi.

5

Add. 37049

with þe beste Antecriste in-to helle. þe right-wis men sal lyf
euer, & with þe kyng of heuen sal ioi withouten ende. And
wikkyd men withouten end sal be ponesched. Fro þe whilk
our Lord vowtschesafe to delyuere vs, þe whilk lyfes & reynes
with fader & son & holy goste, God by infynyte warldes of warld. 10
Amen.

GLOSSARY

A

abegged, *pp.* a-begging, 60/8.
 abliche, *adv.* fitly, 71/9.
 adreynt, *pp.* drowned, 78/14.
 aȝensaye, *inf.* contradict, deny, 29/10.
 aȝenstonde, *inf.* withstand, oppose, 108/17.
 aleggide, *pp.* alleged, affirmed, 92/17.
 aleip, *pr.* 3 s. adduces, 78/11; *pt.* 3 s. aleyde, 87/26.
 alowed, *pp.* approved, commended, 42/30.
 arere, *inf.* raise, 33/3.
 assaye, *sb.* trial, test, 64/13.
 assoyle, *inf.* explain, 48/14.

B

bedemen, *sb.* beadsmen, 43/14.
 bedes, *sb.* prayers, 47/24.
 beheste, *pt.* 3 s. promised, 101/18.
 betaken, *pp.* committed, 103/2.
 biggers, *sb.* buyers, 6/24.
 bihet, *pt.* 1 s. promised, 40/20.
 biquepe, *pp.* bequeathed, 44/24.
 bobans, *sb.* pomp, pride, 21/3.
 buriels, *sb.* place of burial, 42/14.
 busche, *pr.* *pl.* *subj.* strike, beat, 37/7.
 bup, *pr.* *pl.* are, 33/8.
 bygge, *inf.* build, 98/24.
 bynyme, *inf.* take away, 35/9; *pp.* bynyme, 21/5, 54/6.
 byquyt, *pp.* acquitted, 47/20.

C

catel, *sb.* property, chattels, 24/10, 88/12.
 caucioun, *sb.* security, pledge, 10/8.
 cautels, *sb.* artifices, 55/15.
 chaffre, *sb.* merchandise, 45/28.
 chalange, *inf.* claim, 62/22.
 chambred, *pp.* restrained, held in control, 6/8.
 chanons, *sb.* canons, 62/10.
 charge, *sb.* load, 33/7.
 chastee, *inf.* chastise, 13/12.

chese, *inf.* choose, 46/21.
 chyualrie, *sb.* knighthood, 23/1.
 clergie, *sb.* learning, 59/17.
 closip, *pr.* 3 s. encloses, 48/30.
 compray, *scribal error for* y praye, 19/16; *cp.* MS. Stowe 65, 'y praye þat hey lete vs habbe oure'.
 comyneþ, *pr.* *pl.* associate, 25/7.
 comynte, *sb.* community, 33/5.
 conseruatours, *sb.* bishops appointed by the Pope to protect the privileges of the friars, 55/23.
 conuersacioun, *sb.* manner of life, 39/21, 79/28.
 corrupted, *pp.* corrupted, 105/4.
 couenable, *adj.* suitable, fit, 53/1, 59/14.
 cupes, *sb.* baskets, 6/14.

D

deler, *sb.* divider, 15/17.
 deles, *sb.* parts, 64/6.
 desauauntes, *sb.* disadvantages, 43/27.
 depliche, *adv.* while mortal, 7/14.
 discreuede, *pt.* 3 s. described, 70/18.
 disparpled, *pp.* scattered, 98/7.
 dissolute, *adj.* = desolate, 106/9.
 done, *adv.* down, 102/28.
 dowyng, *sb.* endowment, 85/27.

E

echep, *pr.* 3 s. augments, adds to, 83/18.
 emoristen, *sb.* fellow-christian, 56/19.
 enioye, *inf.* = enjoin, 46/30.
 entredited, *pp.* interdicted, prohibited, 42/3.
 erye, *inf.* plough, 89/23.
 eper, *conj.* or, 42/1.
 euereiper, *pron.* both, 99/13.
 eyr, *sb.* heir, 15/2.

F

fale, *adj.* many, 78/18.
 fang, feng, *v.* fong.
 faytour, *sb.* impostor, 84/9.

ferpe, *adj.* fourth, 64/6.
 fest, *inf.* set up, 101/19.
 feye, *sb.* faith, belief, 65/4.
 ficche, *inf.* set up, 101/3.
 fillen, *pt. pl.* fell, 100/16.
 flatrîe wîp, *inf.* flatter, court, 29/6.
 folly, *inf.* baptize, 71/28.
 fonded, *pt. 1 s.* tried, 48/19.
 fong, *inf.* take, receive, 21/8; *pr. pl.*
 fang, 21/14; *pt. 3 s.* feng, 11/1;
 pl. 82/4.
 forbeding, *part. adj.* prohibitory,
 41/18.
 forgendrip, *pr. 3 s.* disregards, 48/
 10.
 forpe, *adv.* far, 29/8.
 frusshe, *inf.* crush, 7/32.
 fulfild, *pp.* filled full, 92/5.
 fundacioun, *sb.* establishment, rules
 and ordinances, 47/4.

G

gaftis, 99/3, *read* crafts.
 goostlich, *adj.* spiritual, 28/15.
 gossippes, *sb.* familiar acquaintances,
 73/11.
 grucchoying, *sb.* grouching, murmur-
 ing, 24/14.

3

3ede, *pt. 3 s.* walked, 6/17.
 3eldip, *imp. pl.* yield, give, pay,
 21/16.

H

harder, *adv.* more strongly, 81/21.
 heeste, *sb.* command, 57/15.
 heet, *v.* hoots.
 heelful, *adj.* salutary, healthful,
 74/6.
 heizlich, *adv.* especially, 89/29.
 heliynge, *sb.* roofing, slating, tiling,
 99/3; *helyng*, 21/14; *clothing*,
 23/4.
 heres = here [*bodie*]'s, *Lat. suorum*
 corporum, 67/15.
 heye, *sb.* (church)yard, 42/9.
 homliche, *adj.* familiar, 55/31.
 honging, *part. adj.* pending, 79/25.
 hoots, *inf.* command, 3/12; *hote*,
 3/15; *pt. 3 s.* heet, 69/24.
 housle, *inf.* administer the eucharist
 to, 71/28.
 hy3e, *imp. s.* hie, hasten, 90/20.

I

indistinctlich, *adv.* without distinc-
 tion, 72/28.

J

ioyne, *inf.* enjoin, 47/19.
 iumentis, *sb.* beasts of burden, 101/
 9; 108/16.

K

kynde, *sb.* nature, 16/10.
 kyndelich, *adj.* natural, 85/14.
 kynryden, *sb.* kindred, 108/30.

L

lasse, *adv.* less, 45/10.
 leef, *adj.* dear, 43/2.
 leese, *inf.* lose, 32/16; *lese*, 21/7.
 lered, *part. adj.* learned, 60/13.
 lesyngis, *sb.* lies, 56/25.
 lettep, *pr. 3 s.* hinders, 76/4.
 leue, *inf.* remain, 59/17; *pr. 3 s.*
 leuep, 81/24.
 leuenyng, *sb.* lightning, 109/19.
 lewed, *adj.* lay, 1/4, 60/13; *lewide*,
 31/13.
 leyde, *pp.* adduced, 9/9; *aph. form*
 of OF. *aleier*; *cp.* *aleip*.
 lond leper, *sb.* vagabond, 54/9.
 lou3, *pt. 1 s.* laughed, 3/6.
 lynages, *sb.* tribes, 41/14.
 lystere, *sb.* reader, 63/4.

M

make, *inf.* bring about, 48/27.
 manhed, *sb.* humanity, 19/13.
 manliche, *adv. for* *nameliche*,
 especially, 52/27.
 mawmetre, *sb.* idolatry, 57/30.
 medled, *pp.* mixed, 101/9.
 medlip, *pr. 3 s.* concerns, 9/1.
 menoures, *sb.* Franciscans, 48/6.
 monchons, *sb.* nuns, 73/10.
 monicioun, *sb.* admonition, 13/13.
 mynyster, *sb.* minster; *m.* *pinges*,
 church ornaments, 104/26.

N

namelich, *adv.* especially, 65/9.
 nere, *pt. 3 s. subj.* were not, 25/15.
 nesche, *adj.* soft, 26/9.
 nice, *adj.* stupid, 91/3.
 nollles, *sb.* heads, necks, 102/4.
 noot, *pr. 1 s.* know not, 57/11.
 nouys, *sb.* novice, 71/10.

O

oblege, *inf.* oblige, pledge, 68/2.
 obstaunce, *sb.* opposition, objection,
 75/26.

olifauntis, *sb.* elephants, 100/7.
 onyng, *sb.* union, 15/14.
 opteyned, *pt.* 3 *s.* gained, 99/31.
 ouer, *adj.* higher, 13/15.
 outrage, *sb.* excess, 79/15.
 outtake, *pp.* excepted, 14/1; except, 73/10.
 owe, *pr.* 3 *s.* *subj.* may own, 33/10.

P

parischons, *sb.* parishioners, 40/10.
 penitauners, *sb.* priests appointed to give absolution in extraordinary cases, 44/29, 63/4.
 prechours, *sb.* Dominicans, 48/7.
 preuy, *adj.* intimate, 44/5.
 primate, *sb.* supremacy, 74/10.
 principates, *sb.* principalities, 10/14.
 put of, *inf.* put aside, 36/3.
 putt to, *inf.* add, 36/12.

Q

quyte, *pr.* 3 *s.* *subj.* give up, 76/20.

R

raper, *adv.* earlier, 5/9, 25/11.
 relef, *sb.* remains of a meal, 6/14.
 relesche, *inf.* revoke, 75/28.
 reulere, *adj.* regular, monastic, 62/10.
 ruveren, *sb.* oxen, cattle, 41/18.

S

sauacioun, *sb.* preservation, 24/9.
 sawes, *sb.* saws, sayings, 48/22.
 seculars, *sb.* secular priests, 59/2.
 sewe, *inf.* follow, 91/12; *pr.* 3 *s.* sweep, 45/20.
 sey3, *pt.* 3 *s.* saw, 7/3; *si3*, 22/7; *sy3*, 67/33; *pl.* sy3e, 56/30.
 sigge, *inf.* say, 92/5; *pr.* *pl.* siggeþ, 21/2.
 siker, *adj.* sure, secure, 41/32.
 sillers, *sb.* sellers, 6/25.
 skilful, *adj.* reasonable, 33/3; *a* mistake for wilful (*L. spontaneae*), 70/16.
 skilfullich, *adv.* reasonably, 28/14.
 skyle, *sb.* reason, 18/9.
 slake, *inf.* loose, slacken, 64/29.
 sleigþe, *sb.* sleight, contrivance, 44/18.
 slow, *pt.* 3 *s.* slew, 95/4.
 snarled, *pp.* entangled, ensnared, 45/9.
 somned, *pp.* summoned, 55/23.
 souereynes, *sb.* superiors, 75/4.

sparpyld, *pp.* scattered, 98/24.
 spelunkis, *sb.* caves, 108/13.
 spiritualte, *sb.* ecclesiastical authority, 3/3.
 spouse-bruch, *sb.* adultery, 57/19.
 stalpe, *sb.* stealing, 76/19.
 stater, *sb.* an ancient coin, 31/3.
 sty3e, *inf.* rise up, ascend, 109/11; *pr.* *pl.* stieþ, 74/24.
 stondyng, *adj.* continuing in existence (*Lat. stante statuto*), 48/25.
 suffre, *inf.* endure, 71/9.
 suggesttes, *sb.* those under bishop's spiritual jurisdiction, 59/11.
 sy3, *v.* sey3.
 syngulerliche, *adv.* especially, 41/5.

T

temporalte, *sb.* temporal possessions of the clergy, 2/13.
 terme, *sb.* period, 46/7.
 tepingis, *sb.* tithes, 41/16.
 to-haleþ, *pr.* *pl.* pull asunder, 24/11.
 tollep, *pr.* *pl.* entice, 58/15.
 twey, *adj.* two, 6/2.

p

theker, *sb.* thatcher, 99/18.
 pewes, *sb.* manners, virtues, 81/20.
 pine, *adv.* for pene, then, 99/25.
 pou3, *prep.*, as if, 48/1.

U

vnbuxomnesse, *sb.* disobedience, 61/15.
 vncouenablich, *adv.* unsuitably, 85/19.
 vndercast, *pp.* made subject, 102/8.
 vndertoke, *pt.* *pl.* rebuked, 19/5.
 vnkunnyng, *sb.* ignorance, 41/26.
 vnkynde, *adj.* unnatural, 55/1.
 vnmebles, *sb.* goods not moveable, 71/16.
 vnnepe, *adv.* scarcely, 45/4.
 vnsobre = *Lat. hebrei* (*taken as ebrii*), 102/10.

V

values, *sb.* doors, 27/11.
 vicarie, *sb.* representative, 5/10.
 voide, *imp.* *s.* avoid, 61/3.

W

war, *imp.* *s.* beware, shun, 61/3.
 wemme, *sb.* spot, stain, 75/30.
 werne, *inf.* refuse, 60/21.

weytep, *pr.* 3 s. watches, 91/6.

wijt, *sb.* weight, 59/31, 60/2.

wilne, *inf.* desire, 3/11.

wipclepip, *pr.* 3 s. recalls, revokes, 34/4.

wipsaiyng, *sb.* contradiction, 48/30.

wipsigge, *pr.* 1 s. deny, contradict, 5/3; *pl.* **wipsiggeþ**, 49/12.

wone, *sb.* abundance, 20/5.

wonye, *inf.* dwell, 41/15.

worschip, *sb.* honour, 10/6.

Y

y-chargide, *pp.* commanded, 81/21.

y-3alde, *pp.* paid, 54/31.

y-herbored, *pp.* lodged, 91/1.

y-hote, *pp.* commanded, 13/9.

y-now3, *adv.* enough, 4/4.

y-schend, *pp.* disgraced, 27/1.

y-seye, *pp.* seen, 1/7.

y-snarled, *pp.* entangled, 46/5, 77/11.

y-socyed, *pp.* joined, 70/30.

y-telied, *pp.* tilled, 32/15.

y-trauaylled, *pp.* tired, troubled, 93/24.

y-wralled, *pp.* bound, 46/4; *v.* N.E.D. *sub* warling.

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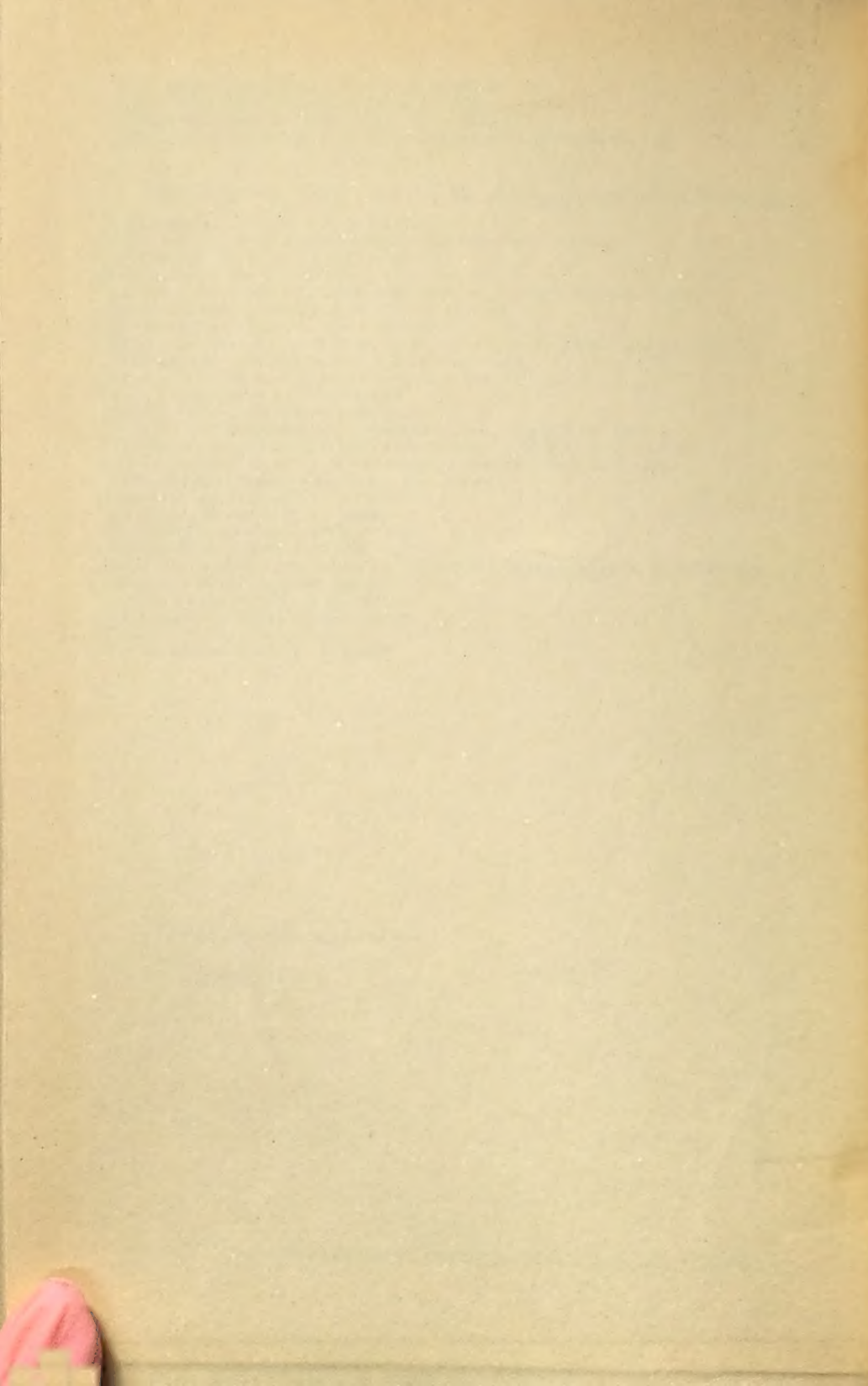
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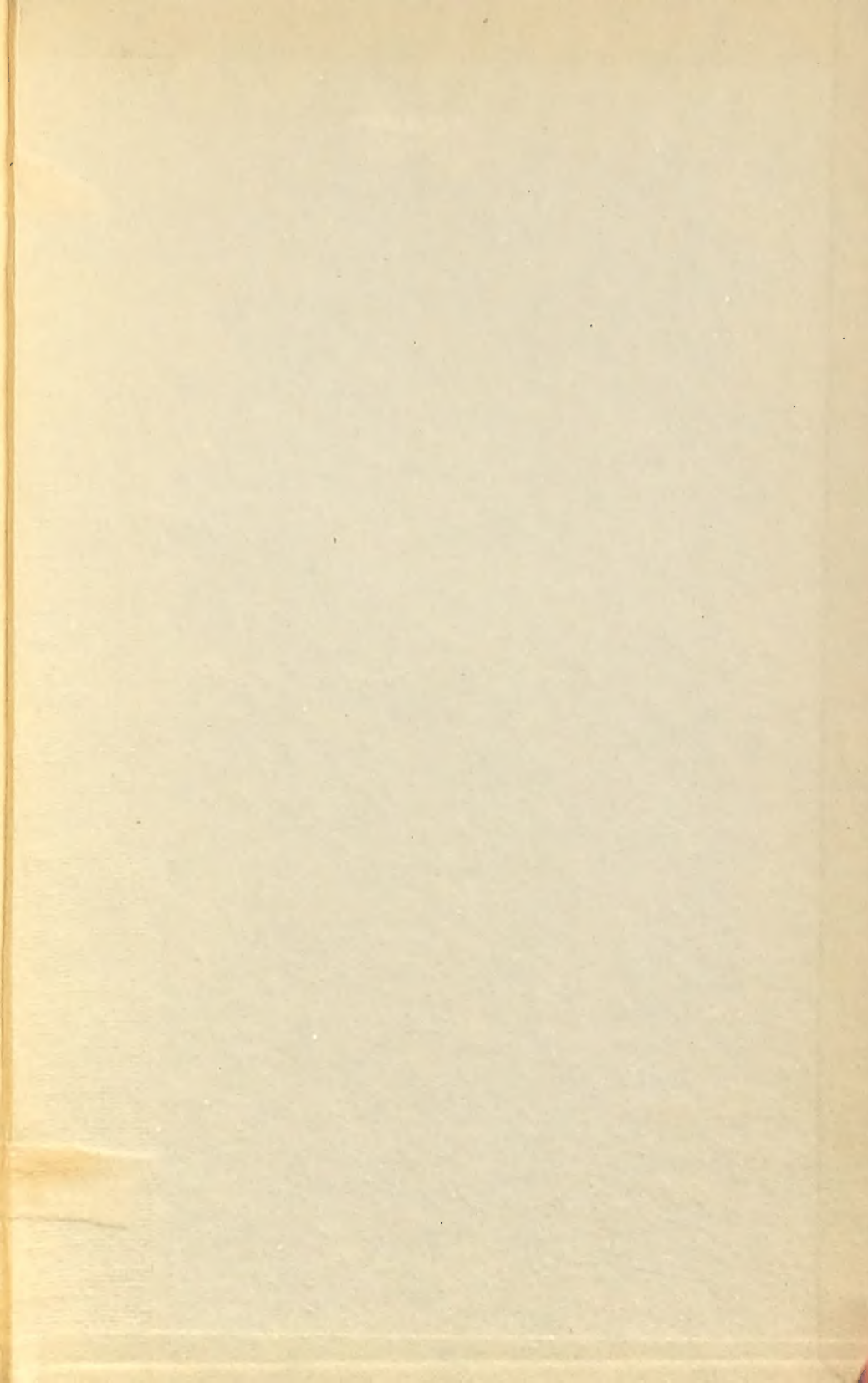
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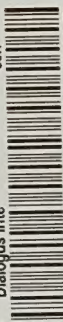




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